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THE
SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLICS,

VS.

GREAT BRITAIN.

*" Or fighte with mee, or lose thy lande,
No better termes may bee."*

—REMAINS OF ANCIENT POETRY.

BY A TRUE AMERICAN.

NEW YORK,

1900.

Gift
John F. Sleeper
Jan. 2, 1941

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THE
SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLICS,
VS.
GREAT BRITAIN.

Sleeper, John Fremont

*"Oh Civilization! in Thy pure name
Bequeath'd are lawless acts, like these, by Fame;
Beneath Religion's veil, transpiercing Thine,
The evil lustre of such black deeds shine.
Blush! blasphem'd Goddess, that malignant Man
Mars with low Crime Thy vast progressive plan."*

—CIVILIZATION AND THE INDIAN, 1891

BY A TRUE AMERICAN.
NEW YORK,
1900.

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DEDICATED

to the cause of

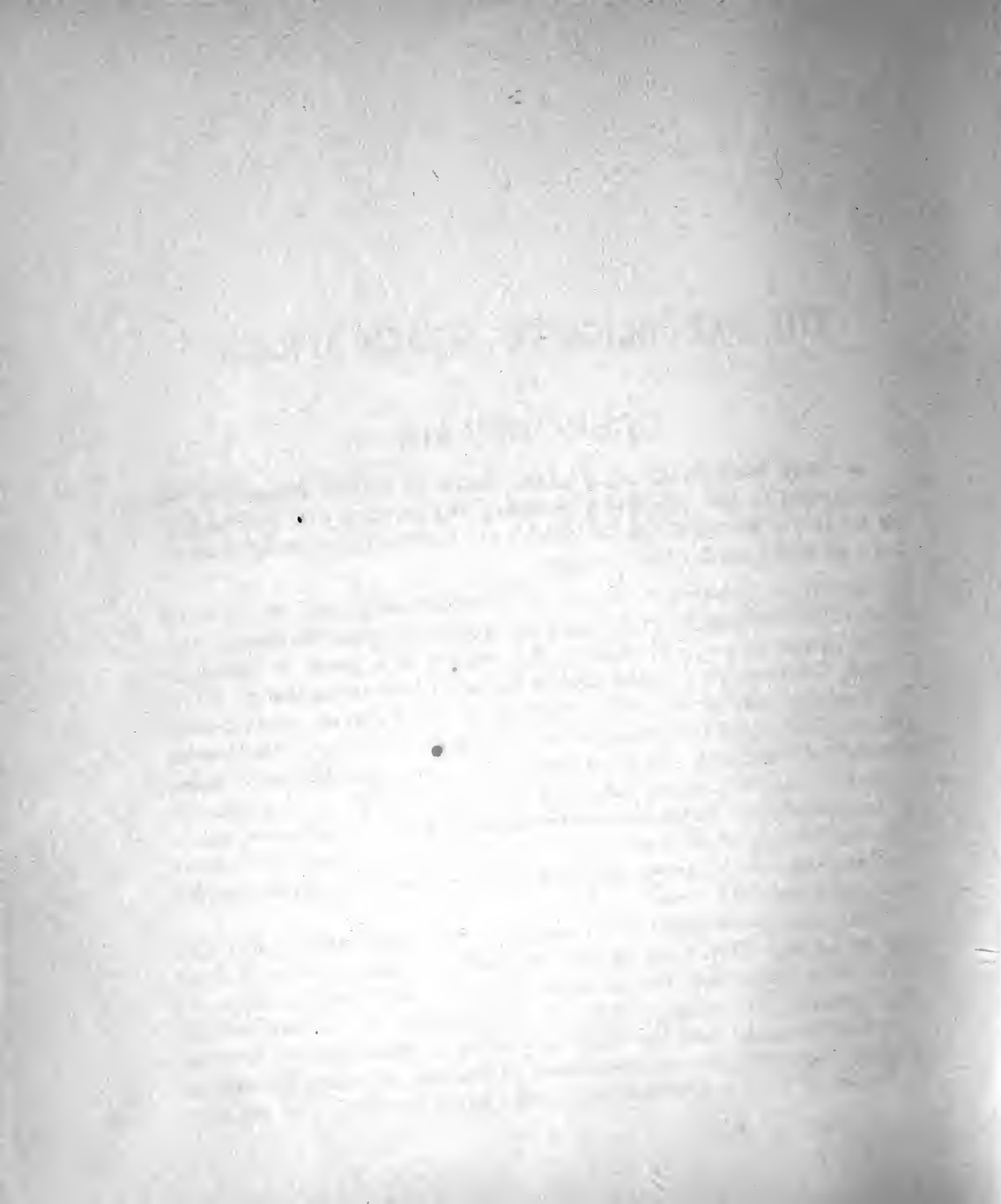
LIBERTY.

"There is a spirit, working in the world,
Like to a silent, subterranean fire;
Yet ever and anon some monarch hurl'd
Aghast and pale, attests its fearful ire."

—HILL.

"Oh if there be on this earthly sphere
A boon, an offering, heaven holds dear,
'Tis the last libation Liberty draws
From the heart that bleeds and breaks in her cause."

—MOORE.



THE REPUBLICS OF SOUTH AFRICA, VS. GREAT BRITAIN.

A just presentation of the facts at issue, preceded by an appeal to the World's people, in the name of Necessity as well as Humanity, to vindicate their claim to Civilization at once and effectively.

Lovers of Freedom ! friends of Progress ! advocates of Universal Right ! throughout the entire thinking world,—on this, the closing year of the *nineteenth century*, impends the shadow of a great, A TERRIBLE CRIME. A *crime* perpetrated against the aggregate of humanity ; for its far-reaching consequences will be ultimately manifested in a more serious blow at liberty and national privileges in every clime than it has hitherto been the misfortune of the cosmopolitan to observe and deplore—a *crime* unparalleled in the sombre history of this distressful globe and approximated only by the indefensible Peruvian and Mexican Conquests, subjugations, though of a cruel race, disgracing even a period over three centuries removed ; a *crime* that only instant, united and, perhaps, forcible action can assuredly avert.

This crime is the political extinction of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State by the monarchical power of Great Britain ; —the utter absorption of their devoted people, their great territory and their present abounding wealth ; to say nothing of their incalculable future advantages ; into the immensity of an overswollen and arrogant Empire, which has for centuries defied, threatened, intermeddled with, or enslaved the other countries of the world ; which has like a vast and ever-

active maelstrom drawn down into its retentive depths all precious of Earth that opportunity could offer, influence entrap or force secure ; and which now by this determined embarkation on a new career of avowed conquest is on the threshold of gaining not only enormous additive territory and treasure, extensive new facilities for military communications and a wide field for future commerce and extension, but also

A SURPASSINGLY INURED AND DISCIPLINED HOST OF VETERAN SOLDIERS with whom to prostrate the other nations at her feet, when further craving for power, further feebleness of opposition, and further opportunities for seizure, conjointly occur.

The extinction of these Republics ; costing the expenditure of treasure beyond estimate, the irrestorable lives of thousands of brave men, and a destruction of property and retardal of social and commercial prosperity in South Africa transcending imagination, if permitted by those who can and should prevent it, will disgrace the Age, and INVOLVE EVERY OTHER NATION AS AN INFAMOUS ACCESSORY TO A DEED OF MOST EXECRABLE BARBARISM !

INTERVENE !

That sentiment which animates the souls of conscientious men to aid the weak individual of their species against the tyrannizing and brutal strong, should likewise urge nations to interpose in behalf of the maltreated of their weaker class. And the outrage of those social obligations which bind the various divisions of the so-called civilized world together should rouse them as a unity to repress and correct the dangerous offender.

AN INJURY TO ANY ONE STATE OR INDIVIDUAL HOWEVER SMALL OR WEAK, IS AN INJURY TO ALL THE OTHERS. Advancement has progressed too far to-day for this truth to be despised or neglected. IT MUST BE UPHOLD !

It is not alone the question of the right (?) of a more powerful nation to coerce at will a weaker when it chooses rightly or wrongly to declare that its subjects resident within the latter's confines are not enjoying their full entitlements, that is at issue ; but a far graver involvement : the CLAIM OF THAT INJURED STATE TO PROMPTLY RECEIVE, ON APPEAL, THE ARBITRAMENT OF ITS SISTER NATIONS AGAINST THE BRUTE FORCE

OF ITS WOULD-BE DESTROYER, WHETHER THE LATTER ACQUIESCE OR NOT and further, the rights of a REPUBLIC, however unprogressive its government may be, however contracted its policy may appear, above a MONARCHY which although *professing constitutionality*, is nevertheless in its insular and colonial rule, an *oligarchy of a certain pronounced and undeniable type*.

Consider this well ! Is it to be a precedent that any Government hereafter assuming to believe the administration of another *corrupt*, or *non-progressive*, or a *religious oligarchy* (?), may step in and annexing the territories by force of arms,—take the reins of authority into their own hands ? And all other powers remain quiescent ?

If so, farewell all liberty ! farewell all those long recognized rights hitherto interposing as a barrier between the feeble and the strong. Talk no more of Justice ; no more of progress ; no more of universal disarmament and peace amongst all the civilized (?) nations ; but revert at once to the brusque methods of the olden age, when the most dexterously wielded club was decisive argument in every dispute, and the largest and ablest army the most convincing title to dominion. Away with your Hague Conferences, mockeries of your real intent,—with your Codes of War, you dare not enforce when they are willfully violated by the strong,—with your International Rights, which you fear to uphold, lest forsooth, pet projects abort or commerce suffers ! All are outraged in this shameful war of Might on Right, this buccaneering raid for gold, this Conquistador inroad for dominion. Throw off the mask ! let the weaker fall before the stronger in society as with nations, for the principle is the same whether the burly ruffian garrotes or bludgeons his struggling yet helpless victim for his coveted purse or the over-powering armies of a robber-country shoot and shell into non-resistance the unaided forces of a relatively feeble State.

Altiloquence ! ephuisism ! cry those mean souls, content to grovel under *any* indignity and oppression to preserve their worldly prosperity ; those who read what I have written with sneering and ridicule, thinking thereby to repress enthusiasm and bury sentiment.

With such, it is indeed ever,—“ *repress enthusiasm, bury sentiment*, allow nothing to interfere with the welfare of TRADE.” Is this to be ?

Is everything noble and natural in men or nations to be done away with, or concealed, that commerce may extend and fatten and fill its coffers

albeit it flourishes for slaves and dastards? Alas ! then, for the world and its pretensions. They are naught !

Yet, even if such is the case, perhaps some emanations of Sentiment may stray from the obscurity of the *oubliette* to which Trade has consigned her. If so, (and may it providentially chance), let COLUMBIA, above all the countries of Earth, concentrate upon them her attention, recognizing that it is to *her*, preeminently, all the world looks to terminate so unrighteous a strife,—precipitated by the intrigues of the low-minded but ambitious politician, Chamberlain, and the unscrupulous stock gambler, Rhodes, acting in collusion with the venal Government of Great Britain, and prosecuted avowedly for Empire,—for sordid gain !

For the power periling the South African Republics is the one whose best endeavors were used to stifle *her* in her birth, whose ill-concealed enmity has pursued her like a baffled blood-hound through the century, lurking in secret ever after each new failure in the hope of being able to destroy her by some successful attack at some moment of unguarded weakness or unsuspecting trust.

For she is bound by everything sacred in ethics to requite the obligations conferred upon her by Europe during the critical period from 1778—82, by now interposing to check the same tyrannic power which would then have crushed her own free aspirations and robbed the world of one of its mightiest factors in its process of gradual advancement, an advancement that will be unerringly measured by the outcome of this war.

The precedent *then* set her, the priceless boon *then* conferred upon her by France, Russia, HOLLAND and the rest.

SHE CANNOT, MUST NOT, DISREGARD.

She must act on the one, she must transmit and diffuse the other.

It is said she is *weak*, she has no *navy*, her *trade* would be ruined. Vain evasions of imperative duty! Review the past.

She was weak, her ships were few, her trade in peril when the first Revolution, (hallowed be its memory), called MEN to sink party-spirit, fortunes, life itself in the grand sacrifice for Liberty and Right, when 1812 demanded our energies to protect the privileges of our abused citizens on the seas, when the Civil War burst like a tempest on the land, when the "*Maine*" was rent asunder in the harbor of Havana and Cuba cried for help from beneath the tread of oppression, but the men, the ships and the

money, and in several cases the aid of other nations, came; *or rather were made to come*; as if by magic! And they will come NOW.

Let this, or any other Power stand forth for RIGHT, for PRINCIPLE, and it will not stand alone, nor find, at the crucial moment, its resources limited or wanting. Behold! the pessimists of yore are disconcerted, America is stronger to-day, its resources greater and its trade more flourishing than it has ever been since the confining shackles of Great Britain were stricken away from it forever.

If Worldly Interest must be appealed to, to rouse the nations from their apathy, what more powerful arguments can be adduced, than by that potent factor?

The craving for dominion actuating this piratical inroad on the African Republics will not be satiated by *that* success.

Who is not well aware of this? France knows it, the geographical positions of Madagascar and the Soudan should be sufficient reminders,—Germany knows it, has she not Damara-land to keep her informed? Belgium knows it, Rhodes' railroad may require part or all of the Congo. Free State. Portugal knows it:—Angola and Portuguese E. Africa would help round off British territory finely! Russia knows it; for then Abyssinia will be threatened and the extension of India begin, (English are already in Beloochistan and Southern Persia), and lastly the United States knows it, for it will presage the immeasurable and menacing ascendancy of her old persecutor over her, promoted by her culpable indifference in the beginning to the cause of a people contesting under far more aggravated circumstances for the SAME PRINCIPLES OF LIBERTY FOR WHICH THE BLOOD OF HER OWN SONS WAS SHED IN '76, and an incomputable damage to her trade both with what might have been a prospering and independent sister-republic, and with the East, for England, *affirm what she will*, has ever, in the light of History, proved herself a determined opponent of free commerce.

Experience has taught us in this world's enlightening record that the best way to combat the overgrowth of any too rapidly expanding Power is to set up and protect other smaller but virile commonwealths in the vicinity of the greater, or of the colonies of the latter. In the South African Republics are two such States, amply sufficient, properly abetted, to bar England's schemes of empire in S. Africa forever. Nurture them! Strengthen them!

And when two countries are warring, there is always an opportune moment, pregnant with great possibilities which, if not timely profited by, may never recur. NOW IS THE TIME! NOW, or the favoring chance is lost, perhaps forever. Proposals of peace have been made by the aggrieved republics, have been contemptuously rejected, and followed by a concentration of forces preliminary to a grand advance through the Free State towards Pretoria, indicating a

BRITISH RESOLVE FOR DOMINION OR EXTERMINATION.

Great Britain is mightily involved both financially and militarily, her vast resources are being taxed to the utmost,—her available home reserves for foreign service exhausted,—her best regiments garrisoning India and battling, or keeping open communications, in South Africa,—such an auspicious juncture is rare and calls for instant seizure. NOW IS THE MOMENT.

INTERVENE!

or the just reproaches, the scorn, the contempt, of the coming Ages, and the misfortunes of far greater wars of the near future than can possibly ensue from interposition *now*, will inevitably befall and pursue ye who neglect to perform

NOT A BENEFACTION BUT A DUTY!

not only to those, who twice abandoning their lands for the all glorious sake of Liberty, now contest for the same freedom fought for by the patriot of '76; to those who faced by the Kalahari desert on the north and the bayonets of the British on the south, know no third haven of refuge, (save in the succor of their brethren), and are prepared to die but not to yield,—but a duty to

THE WORLD.

Be not deluded. This is no war for civilization as England at first averred it. The power that loosed against us the horrors of savage warfare in 1776 and 1812, that hung men before the faces of their wives in Cape Colony in 1816, that blew Sepoys from her cannons in the 1850's, that has ground Ireland beneath the iron heel of power for centuries, that has massacred wretched natives all over the globe with Maxims and Gatlings not for civilization but for Empire, that has suffocated the deluded followers of the Mahdi with lyddite fumes in the War of the Soudan and em-

ploy that poisonous explosive in warfare against a white race in S. Africa to-day in defiance of the rules laid down by civilized nations, that would have pressed the Hill tribes, (Goorkahs and Sihks), of India, nay, even the Zulus and Basutos' into service in her exterminating aggression of the present, had she not feared the overwhelming outcry of the world,—only mocks that sublime progress she blasphemously invokes as her defence.

BEHOLD IN PARALLEL : THE PROFESSIONS VS. THE ACTS OF ENGLAND.

The Professions.

She is striving for *toleration of Keligion.*

She is the champion of *pure government* and *destruction of oligarchy.*

She is looking to *the comfort and well being of her subjects in South Africa.*

England has ever been forward in the *cause of Liberty* and the *promotion of Peace.*

She wishes to establish the *rights of the Uitlanders* and *secure them adequate representation.*

She desires to *abolish Slavery at once and forever.*

She is *concerned for the natives.*

She wishes to *promote free trade.*
She is waging a war for *Humanity.*

THE ACTS.

Herself intolerant as long as a law exists which bars a Catholic from a single office in the realm.

Pure government in India, in Ireland, in South Africa today! She has upheld, and is upholding, Turkey and Morocco two of the most pernicious despotisms and corrupt empires in the known world; and for what but her own selfish interests? For the fall of these would give her great European rivals way. Yet even so, were there any *large known gold fields* in these two empires their stability might not be so assured! And herself an oligarchy, an aristocratic oligarchy.

Very solicitous for these! Meanwhile her poor subjects in India starve and are oppressed by thousands of fortune-hunting, office-seeking, English. Three hundreds of millions of money, it is said, are being expended in the present war. But not much more than as many hundred of thousands are being distributed in the form of food among the perishing Hindoos most of whom would be *enriched for life* by the enormous sums paid out to destroy the lives of Boers in another continent. Nor has one determined effort been made to oust the horde of officials, petty or otherwise, preying on the vitals of that suffering land.

She has been so energetic in the reverse direction that hardly a *day of perfect peace* has brightened the reign of Victoria. England has ever tried and is trying to put the world in chains. Nay, she been the only nation to *continuously* persecute a man battling for his country's freedom after asserting her supremacy. Witness Napoleon, Makanna, Cetewayo, Arabi, and a host of her own domestic and Irish patriots!

The people of Ireland have long had more crying grievances than any Utlander, have long had many rights denied them. The Coercion Act is still in force. The Irish are so feebly represented in Parliament, they can never hope to carry any measures for the rehabilitation of their country. So with India. Newspapers have been arbitrarily suppressed there. Editors imprisoned. The people have little voice. Even her *own people* lift their voices no higher than the Lower House. Only a short time ago the "United Irishman" newspaper was raided and its issue confiscated by the police of Dublin because of articles obnoxious to the Crown.

She did not make war on Russia or the United States to abolish it; she began aiding the Secessionists! She does not eradicate it, (and bars the other nations from the attempt), from Turkey, and Morocco and Arabia today, she has not been careful to expel it from *her own colonies*. Ask Rhodes how he secured the labor for his Rhodesian mines! "Natives who had no inclination to work, were hunted out to work in mines and not always well or justly treated there." YOUNG HUSBAND (proEnglish, S. A. of T. 203). This is but an instance, such could be multiplied. Think of Britain's coal mines of this period, and their child service! She has not proved any existing "INDENTURING" in the S. A. Rep. worse than THE LABOR THERE.

She has spilled more native blood than any nation of modern times in its aboriginal wars, and seized more territory from tribesmen than any other country on the face of this globe.

Review past history for a refutation of this monstrous assertion.

For no other than English ends! And with a poisonous agent in her warfare! Herself loud in outcry against dum-dum bullets, and the comparatively harmless "stink pots" of the recent Malay and Chinese pirates.

Where was her zeal in the case of Dahomey where fearful annual sacrifices were offered up, destroying thousands. Dahomey was left to Frenchmen but the nearby GOLD coast seized! To make further comment would be as absurd as the statement it would controvert.

A Chronological Narrative of the Origin and Progress of the Boer Colonies in South Africa, interspersed with remarks upon their treatment by England, the disadvantages and hardships against which they have striven, and their troubles with their alien residents.

“——Longa est injuria, longae ambages——” VIRGIL, *Æniad* I. 345.

PRELUDE.

The writer of this history of suffering and wrong, began it with *an unbiased mind*, but,—as the task progressed; as the arbitrary, unscrupulous and inhuman methods of England were unfolded to his view; as each new injury appealed to his sympathy, as the heroic sacrifices of the unfortunate Boers for Freedom aroused his commiseration,—little by little, all that portion of his predilections till then retained by Britain was swept away and transferred, most heartily, to those she had for a century and more, persecuted and oppressed. The data, operating upon his mind to the detriment of the English cause, are here presented to the reader.

Who, possessed of a reasoning mind, can peruse what follows without experiencing the same final convictions,—who, that is animated by a generous spirit and endowed with worthy sentiments, cannot but applaud the sturdy resistance offered by these valorous little States to a mighty empire of whose overwhelming resources they were primarily but too fully cognizant?

Careful study has been made of the entire subject, all obtainable literature consulted, persons from South Africa conversed with, and the colonial policy and dealings of Great Britain with other nations in the past investigated to interpret aright her present actions. Not *one* fact has been misstated, all is supported by authority, and that authority *largely English*, for the Boers have had no real historian of their own race, and we must read in the pages of the writers of the nation that is crushing them out of existence for the story of their wrongs.

616—605 B. C. Phoenicians in the service of NECHAO said by Herodotus to have circumnavigated the Cape of Good Hope.

15th Cent. COVILHAM (Portuguese) mentions South Africa as known to India.

1493. (1486 and 1489 say others) DIEGO COU. and BARTH. DIAZ (Portuguese) are the first Europeans to behold the Cape.

The fury of the waves exciting mutiny amongst the crews, they neither double, nor land on, that headland.

1497. VASCO DI GAMA, (Portuguese), doubles the Cape, is wounded by the Kaffirs in Helena Bay, discovers Natal. Later, other Portuguese attempt to settle with little lasting success.

1650-2. VAN RIEBECK, acting under the Dutch East India Co., permanently colonizes the country.

He landed a small number of colonists, rough, hardy, lower-class people, who built a village on the slopes of Table Mt. More Dutch and some Poles, Swedes and Germans arrived from time to time. In the latter year the English fleet met and defeated the Dutch in Dover Channel in time of peace.

1686. From 170-180 French Huguenots flying from their own country on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, join the colony.

These were absorbed into the Dutch colony; part voluntarily, part forcibly; and raised its social status greatly. The English have always alluded contemptuously to the *low* origin of the colony, apparently suppressing the fact that they have instituted much more ignoble settlements with convicts and thieves in Virginia, Australia, and Van Diemen's Land,—and endeavored to infuse a mixture of felon blood into this very colony in the 50's, an attempt frustrated by the menaces of its people.

Many of these first settlers were, as OLIVE SCHREINER (*S. A. Q.* 1890, 18), says "a brave, fearless folk with the blood of the old sea-kings in their veins * * *," resembling the English "in a certain dogged persistence and unalienable, indestructible, air of personal freedom." They were ever ready to resent "interference and external control." NIXON (*S of T* preface IX) says: "It should be remembered that most of the Boers come of a good stock."

During the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the progress of Dutch commerce called forth the hate and jealousy of England and many wars resulted, transmitting racial dislike to generation after generation, and bearing bitter fruit to-day.

1780-85. LE VALLIANT, (French), explores the "Hottentot Country" from the Cape to Angola Bay and the Kalahari Desert.

LICHTENSTEIN, (German), later, but far more thoroughly, followed in his footsteps (1802-5.) We hear nothing of English exploration until 1800-2.

1782. Dutch provinces recognize independence of United States. England seizes their East and West Indies.

1794-95. Revolutionary principles infect the Cape Dutch. Boers revolt against the Governor and throw off the yoke of Holland.

At that time the Dutch did not claim *all* South Africa but only a small area of a few square miles around Cape Town.

1795. An English fleet is sent to support the authority of the Prince of Orange. The Dutch Governor already without authority, yields up those he could not resist and cannot defend.

Here we have the first advent of England upon the scene. Hitherto Portuguese, Dutch, French, Germans, Danes, Swedes, &c., hence the prior right of all. And that advent the result of fraud! Holland was then under control of the armies of France, the Prince of Orange; a *fugitive and deposed ruler*; had taken refuge in England, part of Holland was in arms against him and the greater portion cowed under the military rule of the invaders.

It was at this favorable juncture that the Boers of the Cape, never much attached to a Government that had rarely troubled itself to assist or elevate them to any noteworthy extent and had ruled them most despotically, became inoculated with the revolutionary ideas of the French Republic, rose against the Company and proclaimed themselves independent. The Prince of Orange is said to have requested the English to take the Cape in charge for him and subdue the malcontents, the British sent a fleet to "support his authority." An authority that no longer existed, an authority denied by the French, repudiated by a majority of the Dutch! They arrived at the Cape, the Governor protested and made a nominal resistance, both availing and England took possession in the NAME OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE, appointed a British Governor and held the colony by FORCE on the assumption that Holland would not be able to retain it and on the conclusion of peace in Europe it would finally fall into English hands. And Holland was *then at peace with England!* and Holland never desired England's interference. But as McFarlane and Thomson say (*C. H. of E. iv 77*) "our ministers speedily took measures for preventing the wealth of the Dutch colonies from flowing into Paris." This needs no comment! After this seizure by illegal violence we hear no more of the "authority of the Prince!"

Promises were liberally made to the new subjects "one of the inducements held out was *security in slave property*, at the same time these officers," (of high rank in England), "warning the colonists that if France obtained possession she would liberate the slaves, as she had done in Martinique, thereby ruining this colony as she had ruined that island." THEAL, (*H. of E.*)

- 1800-3 After the Peace of Amiens, England restores the Cape to Holland.

This was under the Addington Ministry.

1806. An English fleet under HOPE POPHAM and five thousand troops under BAIRD, make forcible conquest of the colony.

Taking prompt advantage of the elevation of the weak Louis to the throne of Holland by Napoleon the British reoccupied the Cape, making no excuses this time for the seizure. At this period the Dutch had annexed lands reaching as far North as the Great Fish River, (a stream rising in the southern slopes of the Snowy Mts. and flowing S. E. to a point on the E. coast about one hundred miles N. of Algoa Bay, lat. 33°), and extending as far W. as a point situated a little S. of the Orange River. And they numbered some twenty-seven thousand souls. Much is said about the cruelties of the Dutch to the natives in the conflicts during such annexation, but the same and more can be urged against the English in their dealings with India, Burmah, Egypt and Ashantee Caffaria and the Soudan, and in their early colonial struggles with our own Indians in this country.

The use of the Dutch language is guaranteed to the Boers. Slavery is not interfered with, *English slaves are alone permitted* to bring negroes to the Cape and these are sold to the Boers at very high prices. C. R. L. (1806-7-8, etc.)

- 1810-14. The British seize Sumatra, Molluca and all other East India possessions of the Dutch.

1811. First Kaffir War. Many previous conflicts before it. Kaffirs driven across Fish River.

The solicitude of the English for the welfare of the Zulus, and their horror of the Dutch attacks on the poor savages are now first emphasized in a striking manner! when their own well-being is menaced by the growing power of the native kings.

- 1810-14. *Hottentot police* established for the colony. Sale of grain restricted. Land tenure abolished.

Members of a degraded colored race vested with such authority by the law! Under the severe governors, (military martinets), appointed for the Cape, most of the English Historians of the Boers admit that many unnecessarily harsh measures were enforced, (*vide* THEALE, (*H. of B.*) CLARK (*Tr.*) FITZPATRICK, (*T. T. F. W.*) and BRYCE, (*J. of S. A.*); OLIVE SCHREINER (*S. A. Q.*) and JOUBERT (*Let to V*) have accentuated their denunciations.

A farmer could only sell his grain at a certain price on which those who purchased it reaped enormous profits,—he was not protected sufficiently on his farm, but ran the risk of being driven from it, or killed by the Kaffir at any moment, (Here it may be said the English settlers were little better off.) When troops did recover his cattle they were sometimes sold at auction before his face by the soldiers as lawful prizes and he himself told he was fortunate in escaping punishment as causer of the disturbance.

The abolishment of the Land tenure (1813) and a new system enforced, redemption of paper currency at thirty six-one hundredths its face value (!) (1825) and laws regulating treatment of slaves, caused intense dissatisfaction, though the first of these measures was ultimately very beneficial.

- 1814-15. King of the Netherlands forced to cede Cape to England for £6,000,000.

Comment on this, after what has been said of the previous transactions, is needless.

1816. Dutch East Indies restored in full to the Netherlands.

" (Mar. 9). SLACHTERS NEK EXECUTIONS ("Butchers Ridge.")

Bezuidenhout, a farmer, whipped a Hottentot servant, and refusing to appear in Court therefor, was shot while resisting the military sent to seize him. He was defying justice, but the Boers believed as he did, concerning his rights and rose in arms. They were defeated and the leaders tried for treason. Five were hanged. Soldiers surrounded the place of execution in which the FRIENDS AND WIVES of the condemned were compelled to behold the last agonies of those they loved! Four of the ropes broke and yet despite the clamor of the crowd for mercy at what they considered Divine interposition the fatal cords were again, and successfully, applied! "The Boers never forgot Slachters Nek, and it was one of the causes which lead to the Great Trek" NIXON (*S. of T., 15.*) "As no blood had actually been shed by any of the prisoners" it was generally supposed that the Governor would use his power to prevent the penalty of death being inflicted." "There was an opportunity for the English Government to secure the affections of these people by granting to them the lives of the chief culprits, but Governor Charles Somerset did not avail himself of it," THEALE (*H. of B.*)

"The mistake made by Somerset in 1816 was as the mistake would have been by President Kruger if in 1896 instead of exercising the large prerogative of mercy and humanity he had destroyed the handful of conspirators who attempted to destroy the State. O. SCHREINER (*S. A. Q., 29.*)

England made the fatal mistake of sending out martinets to rule a people whose fealty could only be won by kindness. The thirty-two men and women who witnessed the barbarous scene suffered banishment for life, imprisonment or fines. What horrible barbarity in it all! But such, history shows, has ever been England's methods in dealing with resistance to HER WILL.

"A vindication of the law harsh, unnecessary and unwise in its policy and truly terrible in its manner of fulfilment." FITZPATRICK (*T. T. F. W., 4.*)

1819. Second Kaffir War. False Prophet Makanna attacks Grahams-town, repulsed with great slaughter.

In both these wars, incited by English aggressions, the Kaffirs resisted with a courage and subtlety almost wonderful and with a ferocity born of despair, the English slaughtered thousands and the flames of burning kraals in the invaded country consumed men and women alike in hundreds. By this, the English Colony was extended to the Keiskamma.

1822. Traders from the Cape first visit "Natal" ruled over by TCHAKA.

Tchaka was the terrible Zulu tyrant whose drilled and well armed imps carried conquest and destruction through the native dominions of South Africa. Sometimes whole tribes and his own regiments were put to death by his orders.

1824. First settlement beyond the Orange River *by Boers*.

Part suggested by hopes of better pasturage and part from a desire to escape from British rule.

1825. English language made compulsory in official documents.

(Read under 1806.) By this law *petitions in Dutch were ignored*, and no juror accepted who was adjudged deficient in English. Therefore the offending Dutch were frequently tried by English juries! We may judge from Irish and Indian History what must have been the rigor of British rule and the partiality of British law. Unfortunately there are no Boer Histories, we must read "between the lines" of English authors.

(1828. Third Kaffir War. Kaffirs driven out of Kat Valley which British settle with Hottentots.

1827. Abolishment of courts of land rost and heemraden.

A measure not without benefits.

1834 (Dec.) Unprovoked inroad of Kaffirs upon the frontier settlements in which both English and Dutch, but mostly the latter, suffered horrible barbarities.

Secretary GLENELG afterward justified the Kaffirs and gave them lands along Fish River that had belonged to the colonists! From a humanitarian principle doubtless the Kaffirs were to be commiserated, they were fighting for their homes and life itself against the strong tide of civilization that was sweeping them away, but Glenelg's method of treating the matter was wholly inconsiderate and unjust.

1835. SLAVERY ABOLISHED. Value of slaves three million pounds, one million seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds appropriated to recompense the owners! Currency redeemed at thirty-six one-hundredths of face value!

The justice of the abolition is beyond question. But it was so effected that it resulted in the ruin of thousands. The compensatory sums only redeemable in the colony at a ruinous discount were made payable in bonds at London! As JOUBERT says (*Let to V*), it would have cost the farmer "more than the small amount of indemnity he was to receive for his dearly bought slaves" to make a hundred day journey to collect it. Unscrupulous officials, speculators and others took advantage of the simple Boers and purchased their certificates at almost nothing, and the victims upon becoming aware of their rascality, resented deeply the wrong they were now powerless to right. "Such as were recipients of England's bounty would have been compelled to visit London to collect their money" BRYCE (*I of S. A.*) "The greater number received nothing" JOUBERT and other BOER AUTHORITIES; this is confirmed by J. KING (*J's R*) "thus, he adds, 'entailing the ruin of many farmers.'" "They were compensated in large part with English Treasury Bonds but not knowing the value of these, speculators secured these from them without difficulty for a trifle." J. HOPKINS (*F*).

Two-fifths of the appraisement (by agents of the Imperial Government), being the share apportioned to the Cape out of the £20,000,000 voted by Parliament had been offered to the proprietors as compensation if they choose to go to London for it "otherwise they could only dispose of their claims at a heavy discount. THEAL (*H. of B.*)

Very little defence of slavery was attempted by the colonists, says THEAL (*H. of B.*), most admitting the injury, expense and loss of the system.

But even had the farmers been compensated for the loss of their purchased laborers, they would, (and did), suffer in other ways. "All restraint was thus lifted off a vast superiority in numbers of Kaffirs, Bechuanas, Hottentots, &c., without any protection by law for the master from the too probable depredations and violence of the unemployed. The slaves were put upon a perfect political equality with the other subjects of Cape Colony." *No Vagrant Act!* Whether designedly or not, the English thus inflicted an aggregation of injuries on their subjects instead of blessings. As OLIVE SCHREINER says, (*S. A. Q.*) "they did right in such a manner it became practically wrong."

1835-6. Fourth Kaffir War.

Costing Great Britain £1,000,000. Kaffirs driven E. of Great Kei River.

1836. THE GREAT TREK. Eight thousand—twelve thousand Boers, enduring terrible sufferings, emigrate from the Colony, issuing a declaration of grievances against the English and found new settlements, in Natal, England *agrees not to disturb* if slavery is not re-instituted.

THEAL (*H. of B.*) shows the Boers were even then the "champions of all the colonists for fair treatment." The English were generally passive not so the Boers, under injustice, and now the patience of the latter was forever at an end.

The "last straw that broke the camel's back" had been cast upon the Dutch burden. Incensed by neglect, smarting under losses, exposed to violence from the Kaffirs against whom their powers of resistance had been weakened by the constant endeavor of England's officials to deprive them of their arms and ammunition on the plea of "protection to the poor natives" unable to cultivate their farms by hiring labor, and oppressed by the harsh laws of the land; thousands of Boers packed up their movables in their rude unwieldy carts and wagons, disposed of their farms at great sacrifices, (for there were few who cared to purchase and an immensity for sale), and with their wives and children shook the dust of *English civilization* from their feet, they fondly hoped forever, and journeyed into the unknown wilderness abounding with savage beasts and still more ferocious men. The story of this brave proud-hearted people is a marvel and has no parallel in history, ancient or modern, save in the single instance of the Messenians of Ira, who having been besieged for eleven years in that city and betrayed at last by treachery, placed their women and children in their midst and passing through the ranks of their Spartan foes, (who opened them in admiration of their heroism), left their ruined country and settled in Arcadia, Rhegium and Zancle. But the Boers met with no friendly Arcadians and Rhegians! The reader of their trials exclaims with admiration, "What will men not hazard for civil and religious freedom?"

Their first parties, (about one hundred in all), were doomed to fearful endings,—the Boers say this was mainly due to the English depriving them of arms and powder, this while *much exaggerated* appears to be too true in many instances.

One company under VAN RENSBURG, trekked north beyond Zoutpansberg and was never heard of more. All; men, women and little children, fell by famine and fever or the assegaits of the Zulu! The other, led by LOUIS TRICHHARDT, went also north and from Zoutpansberg to Delagoa Bay. Their survivors were three women, nineteen children and four youths, THEAL (*H. of B.*) not a single grown man, FITZPATRICK (*T. of W. 10*).

Larger preparations were made despite the loss of the pioneers. Before the middle of the year 1837 there were one thousand wagons between the Caledon and Vaal Rivers. THEAL (*H. of B.*) The Governor could not prevent it. Atty. Gen. OLIPHANT was appealed to, he replied it seemed impossible "to prevent persons passing out of the colony by laws in force or by any that could be framed," and the Lieut. Gov. confirmed this in a reply to an address from the people of Uitenhage saying, "any such laws would be tyrannical and oppressive." England had learned something since the times of CHARLES I, who had not scrupled to procure an order of council for prevention of emigration to New England in 1638. CROMWELL, HAMPDEN and others were then detained; an unjust act of despotism followed by many other such, ultimately causing his ruin. (*vide MATHER, I.C. 5.—OLDMIXON, I. 42.—HUTCHINSON Hist. of Mass., I. 32, etc. and NEAL, I. 148, etc.*)

A former Governor, B. D'URBAN, wrote that "*persuasion and attention to their wants and necessities*" would be the only means to stop the emigration.

JOUBERT, (*Let to V.*) says the Boers "were even followed by British officials beyond the Orange River to try and find out if there were not perhaps still one faithful slave with his master and if the Boers were not perhaps carrying a quantity of arms and ammunition along with them. Thanks to the kindness of those officials the Boers were advised of the object of their coming and were consequently enabled to conceal their guns and ammunition."

It not being possible to prevent their departure, it was still practicable to annoy and persecute them, and this was done. It is even said the British incited the natives against them, but fortunately there is no proof of *that*.

PETER RETIEF, (Boer leader) published a declaration (called the Boer Declaration of Independence) with 10 divisions, dated Grahamstown, January 22, 1837, in which he says: 1, they despair of saving the colony from the evils which threaten it from vagrants, 2, severe losses from the emancipation of slaves, 3, speaks of plunder from Kaffirs, 4, odium cast on the Boers under name of religion, 5, that they will uphold liberty and have no slavery wherever they go, 6, that they leave the colony to enjoy a quieter life, will molest no one, but defend themselves, 7, that they have framed laws and will punish all traitors amongst them, 8 that they will make known to the natives their desire to live in peace

amongst them, 9 that they quit the colony under the full assurance that the English government has nothing more to require of them and will allow them to govern themselves without interference in future, 10 and that they leave the land of their birth in which they have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, with a firm reliance on God.—Part founded the ORANGE FREE STATE; (not then so called). On June 6th, 1837, at Wynburg, Retief was made commandant, and the Volksraad founded.

At the Vaal River a party of these devoted people met the impiis of MOSELEKATSE, the Zulu, marching from the far north to destroy them. At break of day the fierce and well-armed warriors burst upon their camps. A dozen to one! and taken by surprise! But the Boers fought with the indomitable resolution born of desperation, and drove off the Kafirs without much loss to themselves, even rescuing some wounded women from their clutches.

MOSELEKATSE sent a more powerful army, telling his warriors not to appear before him again until all the Boers were dead. In the Boer camp less than forty were able to bear arms, but they laagered at Vecht Kop, fortified with branches of trees, and commending themselves to God, as is always their custom, poured so terrible and withering a fire upon the Kafir army, that at last it fled, leaving hundreds of slain on the field. The Boer camp was in flames. JOUBERT, (*Let to V*), says that thinking they, (the Boers), had been consumed in their burning laager the inhabitants of Grahamstown kindled bonfires and rejoiced! But only eight of the brave defenders were killed and wounded. MAROCCO, a native chief, actuated by pity, gave them oxen and supplies which enabled them to join others of their people in Natal, or NATALIA as they named their infant colony.

They made a treaty with DINGAAN, (with whom then was said to be a missionary by the name of Owens), which he signed, granting them land, but having later on feasted PETER RETIEF and seventy or eighty of his men, at one of the larger kraals, he treacherously massacred them all. Then his warriors fell upon the nearest laager; where were a few men and some six hundred women, aged persons, girls and children; and terrible was the result, for with steel and fire they destroyed all save a wretched few, a very few, who escaped into the wilds among the more merciful lions and jackals, and after dreadful sufferings regained safety with others of their people. Two girls were taken from a pile of dead near the Blue Krantz River, who had each a score of deep assegai wounds and yet lived and recovered! Pages could be written on the horrors of this period.

P. UYS, with two hundred men, rode against DINGAAN, armed but with flintlocks! He and his little son and eight others were slain, the ammunition of the others gave out and they were forced to fly. DINGAAN pursued soon after and met the desperate Boers at Weeneen on the Bosmans River, where they had laagered.

A frightful battle of three days duration covered the field with Zulu dead and DINGAAN's warriors were scattered like chaff before the hurricane.

PRETORIUS arrived with more Boers from the Cape and called all others he could together, and with four hundred—four hundred and fifty men invaded DINGAAN's country, met his army of ten thousand—thirteen thousand Zulus and defeated it with a loss of three thousand Kafirs, crushing the power of that Zulu forever, on December 16, 1838.

Previous to this, and even after it, the sufferings of the Boers were beyond belief. Their wives were violated before their dying eyes, their girls carried off, ravished or mutilated to the most horrible imaginable extent; their children tortured and massacred; and dozens perished by the loss of their herds and provisions or by being driven naked into the wilderness a prey to wild beasts.

The Boers did not dispossess the natives by force until the *latter had horribly violated their treaty with them.*

1839. Pietermaritzburg founded by Boers in Natalia.

The Bechuanas and Korannas gradually dispersed, only the powerful Basutos in the impregnable Maluti Mountains being left.

1840. Gov. NAPIER proclaims that Boers have no right to Natalia.

Wholly unjustifiable.

1842. Natalia attacks Port Durban where English squatters have installed themselves on Dutch soil. The Boers are repulsed.

The English refused to become part of the Dutch settlement. Shortly after the Boers abandoned Pietermaritzburg because:—

1843. England annexes Natalia for the "Peace of South Africa."

Allowed unjustifiable, as the Boers had defeated DINGAAN, its ruler, and were beginning to prosper. They had, however, set up PANDA in DINGAAN's stead, the British were

jealous and resolved to bar Boer progress in every way, right or wrong. The Boers offered little resistance, they had no cannon, (the English force under Gov. H. SMITH was well-supplied, yet they repulsed it at the Congella River, but the Kaffirs instigated by the English fell upon their farms and they succumbed.) They, then, began to trek beyond the Drakensberg Mountains, there ensued, "a scene of misery such as I never saw before" (Gov. H. SMITH) Pres. PRINSLOO, protested, prior to his trek, in vain. "We will not defy England's power" said he "but we cannot tolerate that might should conquer right without having fought with all our forces." A true Boer! The Boers said this annexation was prompted by the fear that a free Republic would attract great emigration from the Cape. The English reason has been given. It was also intended, this year, to annex the Free State, but it did not seem to be worth the trouble and it was thought the population would perish in war with the natives!

1845. Griquas appeal for aid against the Boers under treaty stipulations. British troops arrive and defeat the Boers.

This must have been highly edifying to the Kaffirs! To say nothing of its humanity or justice.

1846. Gaikas and Islambles overrun the Cape to Uitenhage inflicting great damage. Fifth Kaffir War.

"War of the Axe," a fierce and bloody war lighting the country with the flames of burning kraals, and deluging it with the blood of thousands of native men *women and children*.

- 1847-52. Troubles with missionaries and natives. The Boers burn LIVINGSTONE's house in 1852 and force him to leave the country.

A vast accumulation of grievances against the *missionaries* had been storing up in the Dutch heart for more than thirty years. The missionary had acquired the most unenviable reputation of a meddler with affairs outside his vocation, a misrepresenter of facts, a usurper of magisterial authority and a champion of the aborigines *even in their wrong doing*, and credence was given by the Cape and Home authorities, in almost every instance, to these men. At their instance, in 1812, there had been hardly a family on the frontier some one of whom or its connections had not been cited as a criminal for attacks on the natives before the Circuit Court. And most of the cases found without true cause for trial! (*C. R. & L.*)

This explains much of the animosity shown towards Livingstone, and his towards a *portion* of them.

The Boers of the Cashan Mountains were denounced by him as a cruel cowardly people, those of the Cape, (under *English* rule), were honorable, peaceable and industrious.

The Cashan Boers burned native towns, for the sake of capturing children for slaves, and cultivated their farms with unpaid labor, &c., &c., he tells us. These very Boers had previously destroyed the power of a terrible despot who had done infinitely worse than they ever did or could have done. The Boers say Livingstone instigated SEHELE, the Bechuana, to murder the *first of their people* slain by Bechuana. He declares that chief acted only in self-defence, and sixty of his people were killed and two hundred enslaved. Granted some of this is true, Livingstone was British, after him would come the traders, British. The Boers had had enough of that nation, they had reason for suspicion of anything English, they desired of all things, *no Englishmen*, and especially *no missionary English*. The Superintendent of the London Missionary Society was their indefatigable and pitiless opponent and all the benevolent associations unwittingly backed his accusations.

All who joined the Boers were required to swear they were not connected with any missionaries!

1848. Gov. SMITH drives back the Kaffirs and annexes part of Caffraria.

The reader will observe, that in all these wars with the aborigines the English are doing exactly what they contemned in the Boers.

Boers resist English in the Free State, expel them from authority and under PRETORIUS declare themselves free.

1849. (Aug. 29) Battle of Boomplaat ending in total defeat of the Boers.

Annexation of the Free State.

Many Boers now trekked to the north of the Vaal River where they founded Potchefstroom and again endeavored to settle, *on the soil which the generosity of the Portuguese had bestowed upon them*. Some qualms of conscience must have affected the English; as was evinced later on in 1852.

- 1851-52. Sixth Kaffir War.

Gaika's, Amaxosa and *rebel Hottentots* invaded the Cape. Gov. G. GREY repulsed them, assisted by a terrible famine which they brought upon themselves by killing nearly all their cattle and throwing away their corn at the behest of UMLANGENI, a medicine man, who told them it would propitiate the spirits of the dead, and bring these forth in their cause. Thousands perished, the British mercilessly urged the war, and pretty well completed what the famine had begun.

1852. Great Britain recognizes the TRANSVAAL.

Commissioners HOGG and OWENS guaranteed the emigrant Boers north of the Vaal River the right of administering their own affairs and of governing according to their own laws without interference. Assuring them;—that no extension shall be made by the British north of the Vaal,—that is the fervent wish of the British to maintain peace and free trade,—that any misunderstandings as to the Vaal River line shall be decided by a commission, and that all compacts with natives north of the Vaal are disavowed.

1853. M. W. Pretorius announced to be first president of "Holland African Rep." Death of his father (the first PRETORIUS), Andreas.

1854. (Feb. 4th.) Commissioner CLERK at Zand River RESIGNS THE ORANGE STATE SOVEREIGNTY and permits its people to frame their own Constitution. Existing treaties with natives being ignored!

A second reaction on the part of England! But why? It had become too costly to protect them!—it was difficult to maintain authority with dignity!—Besides the famine had broken the power of the Kaffirs! (Why then was it difficult to maintain authority with dignity if the Boers were weak?)

What was the result of this enfranchisement:—The Free State became "one of the most flourishing, peaceful and well-ordered provinces on the Earth."

At this time, four republics existed in the Transvaal territory the largest called the "Holland African Republic," the others "Lydenburg," "Zoutpansburg" and Utrecht."

1856. Missionaries expelled.

Five stations broken up in a few years, MACKENZIE, ("10 years North of Orange R.")

1857. Differences between Free State and Holland-African Rep.

KRUGER and PRETORIUS enter the former with a small army. This is said to have been worse than Jameson's Raid. The forces faced each other but did not come to blows. Peace was made. The H. A. R. had claimed the Free State. New laws: Miners, explorers and prospectors fined and English not allowed to own land. (*Jeppes' Almanac*.)

1858. First mention of S. African Republic.

1859. Lydenburg federates with H. African Rep.

PRETORIUS elected president of the Free State.

1860. Complete fusion into "South African Rep."

1862. Griquas cede their farms to Free State and depart to Kaffraria.

1863. Fighting between SCHOEMAN and KRUGER in the S. A. Republic.

A rebellion of Europeans and Afrianders against Boers. KRUGER defeated. Arbitration from Natal invoked. English decide *for the rebels* and give them Boer territory in the Transvaal. Boers submit. Comment on the *justice* of this arbitration is left to the reader! for SCHOEMAN had rebelled against the Volksraad.

1866. Kaffraria annexed in toto to Cape Colony.

In October of this year the first diamond was found to the north of the Vaal River. Some say it was not until April, 1869, and in the west of the Free State.

1867. Gold found at the Tati, and in and without Lydenburg, in the Transvaal. Rush ensues. MOHESH of the BASUTOS' vanquished by the Free State, cedes land to it.

This aroused English jealousy and evoked pretty rapid action from the Cape government, which was resolutely set against all extension of territory by the Free State.

1868. Part of Basuto lands declared annexed to the Cape.

Yet these had been conquered by the Orange Free State, as justly, and more so, than England had Kaffraria.

1869. Governor of Cape interferes in boundary dispute between MOHESH and the Free State.

Thus the Orange Free State suffered "by the unjust and unlawful British intervention after we had overcome an armed and barbarous black tribe on our eastern frontier." (*Proclamation of President Steyn, 1899.*)

1870. DIAMONDS found plentifully.

1871. The English seize the Diamond fields and call the territory containing them "Griqua-land West," (situated *between* the South African Republic and the Free State).

The first Kimberley diamond was found this year, and the indications its discovery gave were not unheeded! As to England's conduct:

"Perhaps the most discreditable page in British Colonial History." (FROUDE).

"Was not the trust assured them by the Convention abused when they were dispossessed of a stretch of country where the diamond fields were situated." JOUBERT (*Let to V.*) I have read many English accounts of the Free State difficulties but find *no justification* of this amazing seizure put forward by any, it is passed over in silence by the many. Rhodes acquired these mines later under the Rothschilds.

The English afterwards tacitly admitted an injustice by paying ninety thousand pounds to the Free State for the property. Ninety thousand pounds! Less than the value of diamonds sometimes removed in *one week*! Ninety thousand pounds for a Golconda of gems! And not a vestige of title possible to be claimed in the seized territory by the English Government! PRETORIUS resigned this year and BURGER was elected President of the Free State.

1875. Fingo land and No-Mans-land annexed as "E. Griqua-land" by Cape Colony.

England says because of desire for protection expressed by the natives, (this is untrue), Boers declare because of a determined resolve to prevent the progress of the Republic.

1876. First Franchise law of the South African Republic.

Acquiring landed property; or one year's residence; constitutes a settler a burgher with full electoral powers. Note the liberality of this law, the discovery of *enormous gold fields* had not then taken place to endanger the safety of the Republic, it could therefore manifest its generous tendencies.

1877. (April 12). T. SHEPSTONE ANNEXES THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC, despite protests of President and people. LANYON made administrator.

British writers say the government acquiesced in the annexation; (there is no record to that effect); that the government was in anarchy and chaos; that the Kaffirs would have destroyed the people. Nevertheless it must be said at this time most all the native tribes had been subdued by the Boers, who had kept them under for forty years! True SECOCOENI and CETEWAYO menaced them without, but the latter menaced the British as well. How much more generous would it have been to have placed the English forces at the disposal of the afflicted Republic without exacting any hard conditions. We lead an infant by the hand to aid it to walk, we do not restrain or beat it. But England has not shown herself capable of much magnanimity in her past history. She took advantage of a defeat of the Boers by SECOCOENI, and of their financial bankruptcy, to further her ambitious ends, she chose to consider the Transvaal in *anarchy*, when she, herself, had been the prime cause of that slight disorganization, and History has recorded her shame on its imperishable pages.

About this period the Transvaal had been endeavoring to run a railroad to Delagoa Bay, and this embroiling them with the Kaffirs is said to have menaced the welfare of the English Colonies, and called for interposition.

The Republic then owed two hundred and fifteen thousand pounds, the Boers who were contented lived far apart, the party of disorder, (*largely foreign*), in compact communities. These latter, says AYLWARD, refused to pay their taxes, treated laws with contempt, and called for foreign intervention instigated by English influence. Then came SHEPSTONE as "adviser," "friend,"—his presence instantly created suspicion,—and well it might! "No chaos or anarchy" (says AYLWARD) "reigned *except in the gold fields*, and even there the law vindicated itself without bloodshed." But the English declared it chaos and anarchy. SHEPSTONE awaited the favorable moment, and, when troops were near the border, announced annexation, in defiance of the protest of the President, without the stated authorization of the Home Government, and in ignorance of the will of the vast majority of the people.

"Nothing but annexation can save the State" he wrote to Robert Herbert. It appears from many records and historical occurrences that the English were very anxious now to save the State for *themselves* after leaving no means untried to ruin *its people*. The Government accepted relief and pay, and I am informed from Boer sources that Kruger really did take office under the English, but they did not ASSENT to Shepstone's act.

While many of the Boers had ill treated the natives, and, under the dubious term apprenticeship, *really sold some as slaves*, it is evidently unjust to charge this to *all*, but only those turbulent and cruel characters, (denizens of all communities, and plentifully met with in our own land, witness New Orleans, Frankfort, and many parts of the South and West to-day), who followed their own brutal tendencies regardless of all laws, natural or human.

Two deputations of whom KRUGER was a member were sent to England to protest against this annexation. They were *denied the opportunity to present their case!*

BARTLE FREEE, (*M. L. of B. F.*) tardily visiting Pretoria in 1879; (after having promised immediate attention), says (April 14), "I have been shown the stubbornness of a determination to be content with nothing else" (than the undoing of the act of annexation) "for which I was not prepared by the testimony of officials who had been longer in the country." But he believes "these malcontents do not constitute a majority of the Boer farmers." How did it happen then, these malcontents afterwards received such hearty support? The *Blue Book* indicates that this High Commissioner had been preparing a scheme of conquest in S. A. unknown to HICKS BEACH! (*c. 2220, p. 136, et seq.*)

CARTER, (*N. of B. W.*), has best explained the willingness of some of the Boers, perhaps indeed of the government party, for annexation. "The natural aversion of the people to English rule was overcome for the moment by their greater aversion to being wiped off the face of the Transvaal by the blacks." Very possible. But who incited these "blacks." LOOK INTO THE SECRET RECORDS OF THE COLONY. There is the answer, THE ENGLISH.

COLENSO says, (*N. L.*) "The sly underhand way in which the Transvaal has been annexed appears to me unworthy of the British name." And so it must seem to every fair minded student of the facts,—SHEPSTONE comes as an adviser, he remains as an usurper! Again and again it had been officially announced that Great Britain would not enlarge her possessions in South Africa. THEAL (*St of S. A. 190*).

Undoubtedly, signatures forged or falsely procured were appended to the petition for annexation, many witnesses attested this under oath.

1877-80. Tonga-land accepts British protectorate. 7th Kaffir War in 1877.

The Boers had attempted to annex Tonga-land but the English induced the Queen of it to accept their protection. The Cetewayo war was long and bloody. Cetewayo was made prisoner by the British and exiled.

1879-1880. Dec. 13, '79, Boers call a Provisional Government, (Kruger, Pretorius and Joubert,) to office at Paardekraal and rise in arms for liberty.

A second Bezuidenhout was despotically treated at Potchefstroom, his friends flew to arms. A conflict followed at Potchefstroom, (Dec. 15-16),—ANSTRUTHERS surrendered with his English force at Bronkhorst Spruit, (Dec. 20),—COLLEY was defeated at Laing's Nek, (Jan. 28),—fought a doubtful battle at Ingogo, (Feb. 8),—and was killed at MAJUBA, (on Feb. 27),—English accounts say that five hundred and fifty to seven hundred soldiers were present under COLLEY at Majuba Hill and five hundred—one thousand Boers opposed them and that two hundred of the latter stormed the hill in the face of trained troops (driving half the force, that were not killed or taken, from it) protected by the fire of their comrades. The Boers say, but seventy of their one hundred and fifty—four hundred men formed the storming party and that but one hundred—two hundred of the British escaped.

FITZPATRICK, (T. T. of W.,) tells us "the Boers displayed the finest fighting qualities" and "the generalship of NICHOLAS SMIT," (who led the forlorn hope), "was of the highest order,—the cleverness of the attack beyond praise."

During the war Col. WINSLOW held Potchefstroom with two hundred and thirteen men; and Capt. AUCHINCLOSS defended Rustenburg with seventy men driving the Boers repeatedly from their trenches though they numbered several hundreds.

Much is said of CRONJE's, (the Boer commandant), treachery in keeping WINSLOW in ignorance of an armistice until he surrendered, and it appears incontrovertible. But there are not wanting British officers who have deceived their enemy *very similarly*, nay, who have acted as treacherously as towards Col. LEDYARD, for instance, though of course, their conduct is only an offset to, and not a justification of, his course.

It is by its past, as well as its present, history we must adjudicate the charges made against a nation. And it is the duty of a historian to ADHERE TO PLAIN FACTS, CONCEAL NOTHING THROUGH INTEREST OR PARTIALITY, AND DIRECT HIS READERS' ATTENTION TO THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THOSE WHOSE ACTS HE RECORDS. He who does otherwise, is a bane to posterity and deserving of its curses, and this has been recognized in the elaboration of this narrative of events.

When we read of Green, (who had received a pass to leave Lydenburg in Jan., 1880, stopped at the fort held by the English on his way, was called to the Boer camp to clear his conduct and was shot through the head during the parley (NIXON, *S. of T.* 237.) FITZPATRICK, *T. T. of W.* 42,—of Capt. Elliot, *T. T. of W.* 33, (escorted prisoner to the border of the Free State and shot in the cart, in which he was crossing a "drift" at the river, by his escort),—of trooper Black, *ibid* 100, (a Jameson scout, tied while wounded and then beaten, finally left ride for his life and shot while so doing),—of harsh and savage treatment of the natives,—of cruelties to prisoners,—with all of which English accounts are rife; we must not allow ourselves to forget that bygone injuries and prevailing or recent war, foster all the evil passions of man, and aggravate violent and revengeful natures to transcend all law in the spirit of retaliation.

Thus after the surrender of Fort Cornwallis, an American shot COL. GRIERSON of the British in cold blood and was never brought to justice despite an offered reward. And the Tories, during the same Revolution were shown scant justice or mercy at our hands; the cruelties of Rawdon, Tarleton, Knyphausen, Ferguson, Tryon and many other leaders of the British army, being such as to arouse such vengeful feelings to the utmost.

Recall the deliberate shooting of MRS. CALDWELL at Connecticut Farms in 1780, (BARTLETT, *H. of A. m. l.* 487), only one of many crimes. Who can forget the story of the butchery at Wyoming, (*vide* "Hist. of Wyoming,") where British regulars under BUTLER withdrew after the capitulation of the fort, leaving the hapless people to the Indians;—or the tales told of our captive countrymen in prison hulks whose skeletons bleached on Long Island's shores;—or the letter of FRANKLIN, (*July 7, 1782*), that mentions the British as arming savages against us and encouraging them to murder, paying for over 2000 scalps or the horror of Fort Griswold, Conn., where, in 1781, COL. LEDYARD and 100 soldiers, were massacred by the English, the sword of the brave American being thrust through his breast by the officer to whom he tendered it in surrender.

Nor have we to revert to the eighteenth century, the present hundred years is as replete with enormities. Frenchtown in 1813 where COL. PROCTOR acted similarly by his *prisoners*, as Butler at Wyoming,—the fiendish retaliations of the Sepoy Mutiny for which no nation professing to be civilized can maintain excuse,—the brutalities of the Irish “pacifications” and evictions, and the *never fully published barbarities* of the Afghan, Indian, Ashantee and Zulu wars, (cruelties lost sight of, perhaps condoned, because committed on *dark races*!), will serve as ample vouchers for the truth of what I have asserted. Inquire into, as I have done, which has the longer list of atrocities; England, taking only a century and a quarter of her existence, or the Boer republic with its *entire history* of but *one half* that period? and then acknowledge, as you must, that compared with the former a halo of humanity glows about the latter.

MAPOCH, chief of a Zulu tribe near Middleburg, collected a commando to relieve Lydenburg in this war, (NIXON *S. of T. 302*), and in other ways made himself obnoxious to the Boers. They did not forget it.

1881. GLADSTONE, in August, appointed the Pretoria Convention. Right of BOER COMPLETE SELF-GOVERNMENT conceded. British rights to *appoint a resident*; to *move troops through TRANSVAAL TERRITORY in time of war, or on apprehension of war*; and to *control external relations* of the State, reserved.

This partial restoral of the Transvaal's rights was an act of justice in the face of opposition that will ever brighten the fame of GLADSTONE. But even he dared not make entire restitution then. As REITZ has said “such magnanimity would have been entirely beyond the possibilities of the British Colonial Office.” This was the only deed ever done by Mr. Gladstone which the English and American press, with cordial unanimity, declared enhanced the *prestige* of England as a State so confident of its giant strength that it deemed it ignoble to use it like a giant. WILSON (*L. & Times of V.*, II., 619.)

KRUGER promised to Evelyn Wood and Robinson at this convention that British subjects should be on the same footing as the burghers and they should have equal privileges so far as burgher rights were concerned except that perhaps some slight difference might be made in the case of a young person just come into the country. FITZPATRICK (*T. T. of W. 365*)

Secocoeni reinstated by the British, but is killed by MAMPOER who had been put in his stead by WOLSELEY after the war. The Boers declare this murder and try to seize MAMPOER who is sheltered by MAPOCH.

1882. Second Franchise Law. A foreigner may be enfranchised after *five years* residence. War against Mapoch by Boers.

The war was urged by the S. A. Rep. with vigor, the Cape Government supplied them with artillery and the Boers drove Mapoch into natural fortifications, largely caverns, where he resisted them for nine months. It was then that GENERAL ERASMUS blew up cavern after cavern with dynamite. This was the subject of debate in the Commons of England but the Earl of Derby said he did not believe dynamite to be worse than gunpowder. It certainly is not poisonous like lyddite! Starvation forced Mapoch to surrender, he was imprisoned for life, Mampoor hanged, and his tribe indentured for five years among the Boer farms. The British resident said at the time “if the natives were ill-treated they could easily run away.” (*Eng. Blue Book C.*, 381, 6r.)

In 1882, MANKAROANE; a Bechuana chief who had offered to help the English in the Boer War of 1881, and, with MONTSIWE, was encouraged by the former; made war on Massauu and another chief of the same tribe, the Boers joined the latter, and the British, not protecting the people of Mankaroane he was forced to sue for peace, and give the Boers a grant of land and agree that a boundary line be beaconsed off between his land and Massauu's, and Kruger was to umpire. This the British would not permit and the treaty fell through. Then, Massauu was induced to cede his territories to the South African Republic, immediately the British again interfered and characterized the cession as an infraction of the Pretoria Convention. The Boers then first appropriated Mankaroane's land and called it “Stella land” with Freetown as capital,—then Montsiwe's in October, seven-tenths of whose holdings they seized and called “Land of Goshen.” This roused the missionary societies, to save the natives. Yet the British had appropriated far more land in former wars than the Boers ever are accused of doing! In 1883 KRUGER was elected President of South African Republic.

A commission was sent by each Government to Mankarane, but with little results, the English representative Rutherford (Blue Book 3480, 50.) reported a "lamentable state of affairs as regarded that chief and his friends, their country being appropriated by the white people precisely in whatever locality and to what extent they pleased," "immunity from interference in the shape of some powerful factor from outside will daily add to the wrongful acquisition of land and property until an uninhabitable desert or the sea is reached." "The only peace that will be made will be continually progression, subjugation or extinction." Would not this also apply to British methods. The Boer's agents did not succeed in inducing the chief to sign a demand for a protectorate. The Missionaries agitated for the natives. This led to a Boer deputation being sent to England to express dissatisfaction with the Convention of Pretoria. GLADSTONE said: "We reserved a title as against the Boers of the Transvaal to support the natives." (March 16, '83) The Earl of Derby declared:—he did not see "how any one could desire to establish another Ireland in South Africa" (June 16) as must result if the Government sent an armed force to protect the natives by conquering the Transvaal. The commissioners waited on this Earl, objected to the Convention in its entirety as unsuited to their country, and declared it had only been agreed to under compulsion, and that the Secretary for the colonies had agreed to reconsider it after its working had been tested. Finally a large portion of the territories of Massau and Mosette was given to the Boers;—but the entire absorption of Bechuana land denied them; a *protectorate over that being assumed by the British.*

1884. Railway concessions by S. A. Rep. to Holland and German corporations.

Delagoa Bay R. R. Called by Fitzpatrick "an iniquitous bond on the prosperity of the State" (*T. T. f. W.*, 62.) Had the English secured it how different would it have been represented! KUGGER says he gave it to Holland because that country helped him when his was poor.

1884. London Convention recognizes S. A. REP. NO MENTION OF SUZERAINTY and only the approval of treaties with nations other than the Free State reserved by Great Britain.

(July.) In this year the Transvaal set up Dinizulu in Zululand and seized the territory, upsetting Wolsleys Government, but the British intervened, restored two-thirds the territory and *again cut the Boers off from the sea.*

LONDON CONVENTION IN BRIEF.

Article 1. Defines Boundary. 2. Commissioners to regulate it and prevent encroachment. 3. British Consul may be appointed. 4. No treaty with any other nation or tribe than the Free State without Queen's approval. 5 & 6. Liability of S. A. Rep. for prior debt and likewise for £2,500,000. Interest at three and one-half per cent. 7. Continued enjoyment of property by all persons who held it subsequent to 1881. 8. No Slavery to be tolerated. 9. Complete freedom of religion. 10. British graves to be cared for. 11. Grants of lands outside the boundaries invalid. 12. Independence of Swazis. 13. No higher duties on goods from England than from other countries, nor prohibition on goods without similar extension of such to those of other countries. 14. All persons may enter, travel and reside in the S. A. Rep., hire, &c., carry on commerce, and "not be subject in respect of their persons or property or in respect of their commerce or industry to any taxes whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon citizens of the said republic." 15. Exemption of all persons domiciled after 1881 and registered a year after from military service. 16. Extradition. 17. Payment of debts in same currency contracted. 18. Grants of land, &c., made between 1877 & 1881 valid. 19. Confirmation of assurances given to natives at the Pretoria Pits. Of their rights to buy land, seek the law courts, leave the country, &c. 20. Convention to be ratified within six months by the Volksraad.

1885. Discoveries of rich Gold fields in South of S. A. Republic.
1886-7. Barberton gold fields draw ten to twelve thousand foreigners to the Transvaal before close of 1887. Dynamite monopoly. REFORM AGITATION FIRST BEGINS. FRANCHISE QUESTION AGITATED.

This year the celebrated Sheba mine was opened, There now poured into the S. A. Republic a motley stream of foreigners all athirst for gold. Europeans, Americans, Chinese, Hindoostanese, Jews; came flocking in but most of all *English*. Ten to twelve thousand traders, miners, prospectors and speculators came in less than a year.

Transvaal Reform Union was instituted and was received with great disfavor by the Government of the Republic. Project for S. Africa confederation opposed by Kruger.

The Dynamite monopoly. Right of one man to manufacture explosives and sell them at 200% over the price of import, they really being imported. It was cancelled by the Raad but revived as a Government monopoly. It takes £600,000 from the Rand mines annually involving much bribery.

Indefensible, but is there nothing in the way of monopoly in Great Britain and the U. S., and do foreign powers interfere to reform these abuses?

1887. Witwatersrand gold fields discovered.

Output began about the middle of this year. These fields added to the difficulties of the Republic. From then on to the present the intrigues of the British Government, exposed by Parliamentary proceedings, historical occurrences, and colonial records, became wonderfully rife. It was not long before nearly twice the population of the S. A. Rep. in foreigners was thrown upon it. Imagine one hundred and forty million aliens entering the U. S. ! When the advent of a single Porto Rican brought over as a test, causes such apprehension among the trade unions of the States !

And most all are there for only a fleeting period not to root enduringly in the soil and become faithful citizens thereof, but to extract its substance and then transfer themselves and their gain to their own or other lands. Little, indeed, have these in common with the Boer, and any danger to their home government at once detaches the really better class, thus the Spaniards nearly all departed for Spain when war broke out between their country and America.

The little State was now placed in a most embarrassing position. The largest Government in the world would have been perplexed in dealing with such a gigantic difficulty :—How to grant equitable rights to a horde of gold seekers, a huge mining camp with all its desperate characters,—prostitutes, gamblers and the like,—intermingled with numerous deserving and well intentioned workers, and yet preserve its morality, protect its laws and prevent by an out-voting of its own people its delivery bound hand and foot into the grasp of England ? How to right others and not wrong its own ? Other nations are more illiberal with the franchise than the S. A. R. The U. S. restricts emigration.

Paupers or persons likely to become public charges, felons, polygamists or persons *whose passage is paid for with others money*, or who are assisted to come, cannot be admitted. Ones own family, or skilled labor not otherwise obtainable, may however be imported ! (*Law of Mar. 3rd, 1891, c. 551.*)

It admits a person having money, (even though he may be a pauper before the lapse of an hour), if he is not Chinese. It excludes Chinamen. Because some 200,000 celestials came over to merge in our 70,000,000 the gravest apprehensions were excited, because some ten thousand of Russian Jews expelled from Russia prepared to enter *Germany*, they were opposed and many starved to death outside the frontier lines, because some thousands of Polish Jews entered *England* a cry was raised that a great disaster to the realm was impending and measures at once discussed for future exclusion.

But the S. A. Rep. has passed no Exclusion Act, *it has admitted everyone. It only delays citizenship.* Austria is more niggardly than the Transvaal was ; she exacts ten-years for the franchise rights.

And England with all her vaunted liberty has denied to Irishmen and her colonies for years and years all adequate representation, and foreigners are not only taxed heavily but on being admitted to the franchise receive but a very little power, for they cannot vote for the hereditary House of Lords nor sit in it, nor have they anything but the most fractional power of electors for they can only vote for the members of the Commons.

Indeed the traditions of England were exclusion of aliens from all political privileges and dislike of foreigners, she has often obstructed naturalization. It was not until 1870 she passed a law providing for the franchise, after five years residence, on application to the Sec. of State. In 1850 less liberty of exercising the franchise was granted to Ireland than had been allowed to Hottentots in Cape Colony, only occupiers of land to the extent of £ 12 per annum being permitted a voice in public affairs ! (*C. H. of E. iv.*)

In the U. S. to-day a naturalized citizen suffers several disabilities ; he can never be a President or Vice-President, nine years must elapse before he can become a Senator, and seven before he is eligible for a Representative. (*U. S. Const. Art. i, Sec. 2, Art. ii, Sec. 1.*) Yet no outcry has been made.

Nor must we lose sight of the religious intolerance of Great Britain, which prevented Jews from occupying seats in Parliament despite numerous attempts to secure their rights, in 1853, a bill brought forward for this purpose was lost at its second reading. (*C. H. of E. iv., 667.*) and was not passed until July, 1858. Even then it was not until 1860 a Jew could be sworn in without parliamentary proceedings, and the oath itself was not purged of bigotry until *Act. 20 of Victoria c 10.* (*May's Parliamentary Practice 6th ed. 190.*) And the debarral of the Free Thinkers ! BRADLAUGH was twice removed by force

in 1881 because he would only affirm in the House, was excluded from entering, and was not permitted to even *take the oath* until 1886, WILSON (*L. & Times of Vict. ii. 618*.) This action of the Parliament "practically affirmed that an atheist cannot become a member unless he conceal his opinions" (*Biograph Annual 1884, 43*.) And this is the progressive country opening S. Africa to Civilization!

But the truth is, CIVILIZATION is but crudely developed everywhere, and cannot exist in perfection until every human inhabitant of this globe realizes that all his, or her, fellow creatures black or white, rich or poor, high or low have rights equal to his, or her, own, that the mere accident of being born on a certain spot of land or residing thereon by will, must not cause a selfish neglect of all taking place outside that favored locality, and that the most rigorous religious tenets and industrious church activity, sinks into utter insignificance compared with the rendering of PRACTICAL GOOD and the exhibition of PERSONAL EXAMPLE,—in short till the admirable saying of THOMAS PAINE,

"The world is my country,—to do good my religion,"
is fully comprehended, and implicitly followed.

1890. S. A. Rep. requested to withdraw from the N. and W. of Swasi-land. Great Britain vacating the E.

The Banjailland Trek by JOUBERT and others into a small republic under English protectorate. Averted by Jameson without force and by Kruger's proclamation. Not much ground for allegation of weakness of Govt?

The Selati R. R. said to be a case of shameless robbery.

Fitzpatrick (*T. T. f W. 70*) says that Govt. arranged with a contractor to build it at £9,600 per mile, this contractor sublet for £7,002, depriving the Republic of £519 600. No explanation by the Boers, but they have brought suit against those in Belgium where the concession was granted, this may decide the responsibility.

Charter granted to South African Company.

"First act in the African tragedy, when a charter is granted to a ring of speculators and the principles governing English rule in S. Africa for the first time was departed from and Imperial rule allied itself with the speculations of the share market." OLIVE SCHREINER (*Nov. 13, 1899*.)

The Boers consented to the occupation of Mashona land by the new company although the English had just objected to their own colonization of Banjal-land.

1890. Second Volksraad created and franchise modified.

Those vote for 1st V. who were enfranchised prior to the new law, or who, born in the State, become 16 years old. For the 2nd Raad, those who have been eligible for 10 years for election to the 2nd Raad may obtain the higher rights, they must be Protestants, 30 years old, live on landed property in the State. and be two years naturalized,—in all 14 years being necessary to secure full electoral privileges. Certainly very rigorous conditions, but the Boer Republic was not dealing with the ordinary class of emigrants or conditions of emigration, but with a MINING CAMP, and besides it was in PERIL.

1894. Boers attempt to reach sea through overtures to Zambaan and other chiefs, but Roseberry,—acting for G. B., annexes the lands of those chiefs.

A most arbitrary and low minded act, akin to the confiscation of the diamond fields.

1894. Franchise Law.

All born in State or living there before 1876 may have full electoral rights, those settled since; after 2 years residence from date of registry may vote for local officials and the 2nd Raad. After 2 years more a seat in the 2nd Raad is possible. After such qualification for 10 years, he being over 30, if the majority of Burghers in his ward so decide and the President and Executive are agreed, he may become a full Burgher.

It may be noted here that a resident may be prevented even after full residence from ever becoming a citizen if objectionable to the authorities, a proceeding only warranted if it would seem by the peril of the commonwealth.

1894. Petition said to be signed by thirty-five thousand four hundred and eighty-three Uitlanders for extending the franchise, produces no effect but to contract it a little.

The Boers declare the petition largely fraudulent. The English declare it genuine.

1895. Reform movement inaugurated.

Cecil Rhodes, director of the Consol. Gold Fields and Prime Minister of Cape Colony, and Alfred Beit of the London firm of Wernher, Beit & Co., controlling and representing millions in the Transvaal are prime movers in this. Rhodes is said to have contemplated amelioration of conditions affecting his capital and Free Trade in S. African productions. His real design was undoubtedly to control taxation himself and secure jurisdiction over the mines for English capitalists. The Boers say he meant to annex them to Rhodesia to rehabilitate the chartered company. Design to seize Johannesburg and Pretoria Forts. Jameson to be kept on frontier ready to aid when wanted. Promulgation of a spurious petition or "manifesto" stating Uitlander grievances Dec. 26, (a few days before the Raid.)

Rhodes, [says HOBSON (*W. S. A.*) in effect], deliberately brought on the war in South Africa.

- 1895-6. Cecil Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain instigate the Jameson Raid. Mashona-land and Bechuana-land Police, led by JAMESON AND BRITISH OFFICERS, enter the S. A. Republic in time of peace under no flag;—after some fighting, are surrounded at Doorn Kop by the Boers under CRONJE and after some resistance, surrender unconditionally, (say the Boers), on promise of their lives, (say the English.)

The infamous piratical incursion into a peaceful State by the tool Jameson in the hands of those Rothschild automatons, a multi-millionaire and stock gambler. Rhodes and a certain unscrupulous statesman, Chamberlain, as is incontestably proved by letters and verbal testimony, was the outcome of a deep laid plot formulated to absorb the S. A. Republic. That it failed is both due to the rashness of the tool and the alertness of the Boer Govt. in detecting the machinations against them by its employers. Jameson is said to have started prematurely; thus ruining the original scheme of seizing the Pretoria arsenal; for, on the first tidings of his march, the Govt. filled Pretoria with armed burghers. Johannesburg (an Anglo Australian city in the majority) was in a fever. A Reform Committee was called, threw off all disguise, collected arms and ammunition, (previously smuggled in in barrels &c.), and organized military corps. It was said about 20,000 men came forward to be armed and only 3,000 rifles were on hand for the purpose.

However, 2,000 were armed and some fortifications begun about the city. *But numbers would not rise.* OLIVE SCHREINER tells (*S. A. Q.* 56) how "the great mixed population * * * refused to arise and go to aid him" (Jameson), and "hundreds of Englishmen, Cornishmen and others fled from Johannesburg, fearing that Jameson might arrive and cause a disturbance." Nor was this from fear, she says "Those men were strangers here, they came to earn the bread they could with difficulty win in their own land; they were friendly treated by S. Africa and made money there but were they bound to die in a foreign land for causes which they neither knew nor cared for * * * They could not run a knife into the heart of a people which had hospitably received them * * * they could not enter upon a deadly raid for a man whom personally the workers of Johannesburg cared nothing for."

YOUNGHUSBAND says, (*S. A. of T.* 130), "All they" (the Uitlanders) "seem to have understood they should do was to have a certain number of men to meet Jameson, not to assist him in a military way but to make a political demonstration of welcoming him in."

FITZPATRICK, (*T. T. of W.* 165) says "had Jameson ever reached Johannesburg, the enthusiasm would have been wild and unbounded and had the Uitlanders been sufficiently armed they would have sided, rightly or wrongly, with Jameson." STICKNEY, (*T. T. O.* 70), "The population of Johannesburg did not wish a revolution. They were not in favor of the Jameson Raid. No doubt there were many things in the Transvaal public administration which were not thoroughly satisfactory to the Uitlanders. But they

did not consider that their grievances were intolerable * * * * On the contrary their efforts to get improvement in governmental methods had been very successful, the evils of which they complained, though much less gross, were of precisely the same nature with those endured so long and patiently for many years by the people of the City of New York."

Phillips, (of the Reform Committee), in stating the grievances of the Uitlanders said that year after year they had been begging for redress of these grievances, for some ameliorations of their condition, for fair and uniform treatment of all the white subjects of the State and for some representation in the Legislature of the country as they were entitled by their numbers, their work and their property to have, and yet not only had a deaf ear been turned to all their petitions but the conditions were actually aggravated year by year."

It is significant that amid all the clamor we find *Americans*, (with the exception of the John Hays Hammond tribe), *Germans* and *Jews* making no formal complaint. YOUNGHUSBAND (*S. A. of T. p. 167*) notices this BRITISH outcry—"A curious anomaly in the situation is that British subjects in the Transvaal consider they may justly demand assistance from the British Govt. to enable them to become independent Republicans."

President Kruger had offered concessions, reducing the term of residence. Had his country not been situated on the confines of a *hostile* nation, had not a disaffected majority of English-sympathizing seekers of fortune been established in his midst surrounding him like hungry jackals and imperiling the existence of his country, he would have done more. MORE, IN THAT STATE OF AFFAIRS HE COULD NOT DO, NOR COULD ENGLAND HERSELF HAVE BEEN AS MAGNANIMOUS. England had by her own treaty clause no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the South African Republic, nor had she any right but that of *might*, to the quoted part of Article 14 of the London Convention (*q. v. 1834*).

"No civilized country in the world," says Hoogt (*vidi infra. p. 19*) "afforded more privileges to foreigners. After two years citizenship a new citizen could already be appointed Justice of the Peace and to other minor official positions."

Johannesburg was the "best governed mining camp in the world" wrote OLIVE SCHRIENER. "The Boers have honestly tried to meet real grievances, but there have been so many lies told about them!"

HOOGT, pro-Boer (*Struggle of our brethren in S. A. p. 32*), says "Who are the complainants? The fact that all the Uitlanders, except the English, joined of their own free will in taking up arms against Great Britain, proves they were satisfied with Pres. Kruger's government."

YOUNGHUSBAND (pro-English) said "by waiting on their opportunity the Uitlanders will gradually gain their end, their lot is not a desperate one." "Instead of hastily resorting to arms and reviving racial feeling, which impedes progress, they can well afford to wait a few years time till the Boers, not bound together in opposition as they are now, through being attacked, have spread themselves out and left interstices between them by means of which the process of a new amalgamation may be carried out" (*S. A. of T. D., 167*). Provided England "sees her subjects have fair play the Uitlanders may well be left to work out their own salvation in their own way" (*ibid. 170*).

STICKNEY (T. T. O. 78). "The condition of public affairs in Johannesburg at the time of the raid was far superior to that in many mining camps in the U.S." * * * "Prior to this raid no attempt had been made by any considerable body of men in Johannesburg for any substantial reform in the existing laws or in the existing administration of these laws."

At no time *since the gold fields were opened* have any large number of the people agitated for any great alteration in the laws except in such as relate to taxation, they have mostly admitted the Transvaal regulations to be as good as could be expected under existing conditions.

Let us contrast England and the Transvaal in a few governmental and social aspects: In the former there is still that environment of caste and regard to class and wealth so pernicious to true progress, not so in the latter, there are found few class divisions, few jealousies, the nation is a UNIT, the rule POPULAR, and therein lies their wonderful strength, for as BRYCE, (*A. C. ii. 602, 1897*), says, "A united people is doubly strong when it is democratic, for then the force of each individual swells the collective force of the Govt., encourages it, and relieves it from internal embarrassments."

The Boers have a popular President whom every man, woman and child has access to more freely than in the U. S. He has at times overruled the Raad but his "influence over the Raad and over the people always great when danger threatens the State * * * tends to diminish in peaceful times" YOUNGHUSBAND, (*S. A. of T. 50*). In peace he cannot carry out his wishes, the Boers then tolerate not the least that savors of autocracy. There is no tendency to make a hereditary Presidency, or a permanent Raad.

Every male citizen over sixteen may vote, their Representatives are paid, and *must* act as their constituencies will.

Petitions may be addressed by the people to the Raad and must be considered if *only a half dozen sign them*. Moreover, they through that body may remove a President as was done in the case of Pretorius (1871). There is a definite, written, Constitution, as in the U. S., frequently amended by the Raad. *Foreigners not burghers*, largely hold judicial and executive offices. (*O. Ps. P.*,—*T. T. of W.*,—*S. A. of T.*—*et c.*)

Every man; farmers, Volksraad, judges, President, all: nay, the very women and girls have fought when the struggle for existence against natives or English rendered military co-operation imperative, the army was the people, high and low, the people were then as those of Macaulay's Rome.

"Roman was for Roman and all were for the STATE."

Two-thirds of the Raad in 1897 bore battle scars, and even in 1899, hardly a Boer family was to be found of which some one or more of its females had not been wounded or slain in war. The continual recurrence of such strife would have bound the people in the coils of a military despotism had not the inherent craving for freedom, paramount in the nature of every Boer, acted as an effectual offset. Very peace loving and pastoral in their tendencies, they care little for war, trade, mining or like pursuits, they are in the main nomadic agriculturalists, (*H. of B.*,—*T. T. of W.*,—*S. A. of T.*,—*O. Ps. P.*—*et al.*). All this tends to obliterate distinction, accordingly we find no blooded, wealthy or elite class, but each individual having rights equal to another's and the same chance to prosper!

How different in England! how backward there! A Norman-Hanoverian aristocracy surrounded by glitter and show, a prerogative, isolated monarch shut up in a close shell of pride," a blue-blooded hereditary Upper House! True, the power of the Crown has been greatly curtailed. It can no longer dominate Parliament, as of old, by procuring the election of members; the reforms of 1832 largely abolished *that*; still *peers to an indefinite extent can be created by its order*, and thus it can powerfully influence the Legislative bodies if it chooses. Any measure could thus be carried through the Lords. Such has been done (*vide Brougham, iii, 304*). It can appoint most of the Judges and innumerable other officials. It has a veto on *all* the legislation of the Lords and Commons, and possesses the sole prerogative of peace or war. The Commons may impeach, BUT NOT TRY IT. There is no *written* constitution to delimit its power (DEAN, *Hist. Civiliz. 1870, v. 460*), even to Magna Charta there was no guarantee but FORCE.

The great power limiting the monarchy lies in the fact that taxes can be voted only by the voice of the Commons, acknowledged in 1407 (GUIZOT, *Repres. Govt.*, 514).

Petitions have no consideration if emanating from the few, and no legal status.

Listen to the claims of the Uitlanders. "We are the vast majority,—own one-half the land,—nine-tenths the property; yet have *no voice*. Taxation imposed on us without representation, wholly inequitable taxation, (because, it is levied on the people in much greater amount than is required for Government) and class taxation, (or taxation by selection), and the necessities of life are unduly burdened. The right to trial by jury of our peers is denied us, our lives are in daily danger, we cannot hire labor reasonably. The Dutch language is alone used, and we cannot properly educate our children," [see FIRZPATRICK (*T. T. of W.*) HAMMOND, (*A. W. P. in. A. R.*) KING, (*Js. R.*), &c.]

Let us consider these in detail: The Majority? Yes! But of aliens, of men who have mostly no desire to become citizens but only to make as much as they can and then return to the homes where they have even *left in not a few cases, their wives and children, or friends!* The Kaffir aborigines of the Cape are the vast majority in the Colony, does that secure due representation from that Government?

The native population of India, of Canada, of Australia, of Ireland, are the majority,—who makes their laws? But further:—The majority in the S. A. Rep. is not a *native* superiority but a *foreign* influx; totally devoid of connection with, or interest in, the land in which they are residing, save for *mercenary* purposes. Other countries have sometimes EXCLUDED SUCH from their confines; here, we behold the Republic tolerate them. Yet England, by virtue of brute force, (40,000,000 to 150,000), presumes to direct the S. A. Rep. to grant these people citizenship on her own conditions. As well might she have meddled when we excluded the Chinese or restricted other foreign emigration, (measures of doubtful political economy at the best), as well might our government demand citizenship of Canada for our Yukon adventurers.

Owning land. British capitalists hold enormous tracts of land in our Western States, yet have no legal voice in our politics. The mere ownership of land that may be sold to-day or to-morrow at an excellent profit will never prove a very strong title to good citizenship in any country nowadays, though it held among the ancient Saxons.

Nine tenths the property. In repeating the above reply as answer to this, it may be added that if the Uitlanders possessed, and were taxed for, all this property, the mining facilities it afforded them were ample compensation. As well might our and other miners and investors at present in the Yukon who own most of the property there and are taxed heavily by the Canadian Government, cry out for a voice in the affairs of Canada! And this profitable ownership is an excellent reason also for their paying most of the taxes.

Taxation without representation. Point out a country where aliens are not taxed and where they are permitted to exercise the privileges of citizens. England and her Colonial Govt's refuse electoral rights to persons no matter how long resident, and the Legislatures of these Govt's, force them to pay whatever taxes they exact.

Wholly inequitable taxation. At first it appears so, but when we consider that while the Uitlander does pay 90 per cent. of the taxes, he is empowered to take away over 97 per cent. of the gold he mines, we no longer see any injustice, but a just compensation to the Republic which permits so many hungry cormorants to congregate within its limits, to dive into and pouch up its treasures and fly a way to their distant nests when fully satiated.

Class taxation. A class of foreigners who are not in sympathy with the people, who have become wealthy on the mining lands bought of the S. A. Republic, and who are rendering, apart from their tax payments, but little or no service to the community, nay who have many of them lived in it for years and could have received the franchise under the old laws had they wished to renounce their sovereign and take the oath of allegiance, should not these be taxed as a class?

Necessities of life unduly burdened. Johannesburg is far better off in the advantages it enjoys in this and other respects than many mining camps in other parts of the world, such necessities will always be expensive and always be "burdened," where there is an overdemand for them and a not very easy freightage.

Right to trial by jury of our peers denied and lives are in daily danger. Fancy a Polander in England demanding to be tried by Poles! But I have been assured by those who know the Transvaal well that this is ridiculous and no foreigner has been denied the justice he merits any more than in our own country. And nothing in the records of the great mining camp of Johannesburg indicates any more danger to life there, than in any great aggregation of the off-casts of the world such as all heterogeneous mixtures of gold seekers (and their followers:—gamblers, thieves, prostitutes, &c.,) always must be.

We cannot hire labor reasonably. There are few mining districts where labor can be obtained cheaply. The Boer Govt. forbids by the "Plakkerswet" law congregations of Kaffirs, &c., in numbers of over five families on any one property. But it permits its own people to evade this law made for the protection of the community. It is probably aware that those interested in upholding the Government will make no evil use of such aggregations, hence its unfair laxity in regard to them. The wages were £3, 3s. per month per head in the S. A. Rep. as compared with 20—30s. in other colonies.

The Dutch language. If then, tens and hundreds of thousands of Poles, Huns, Germans, Russians, &c., come to our country and settle in it and find the language inconvenient we must change it for them! The Dutch are the majority in Cape Colony, and equal to the British in Guiana, is their language made official in either of those colonies!

Education of children. If these aliens truly desired to become sincere citizens of the S. A. Republic would they have objected to send their children to the schools of the Govt.? Not so foreigners here submit to it? Not so these people, they wanted to establish *England* in the State, and not merge *their nationality* into it, as educating the children to be *AFRICANDERS* would have entailed.

This was characterized by Chamberlain as a dreadful injustice this giving instruction in all the public educational institutions only in the Dutch language. It is true there were few schools at that time in the S. A. Republic but they were good ones. The Uitlanders were not prevented from establishing English institutions in Johannesburg.

In the matter of education, Scotland is yet in the lead of England she began in 1696! BRYCE, in his "*Am. Commonwealth*," admits the N. United States are in advance of both. Great illiteracy prevailed in England up to the '40's,—private enterprise; and Government grants inefficiently supplementing these; being the only furtherance of popular learning until 1870 when school boards, inspection and compulsory attendance were first instituted and *poor* children ordered to be admitted free. In 1873 less than *half* the *British* children under 15, attended school and as late as 1890 the schools left much to be desired.

How much in advance was Holland, even in 1811 her schools were landed by CUVIER (*Report 1811*), we learn that in 1806 that kingdom was separated into divisions with an inspector to each, and though education was not compulsory every effort was enjoined on the clergy and authorities to induce the children of the *poor* to enter the free schools liberally provided for them (see also COUSIN'S *Dutch Education*.) The mass of the people of Holland are better instructed there than in any other European country.

How does progress in England compare with that in Massachusetts which in 1647. (FRASER *Rep. on U. S. Schools*), legislated that every 50 householders should support a teacher?

But (*vide* STICKNEY, T. T. O. 76) "the Uitlanders cared nothing for education, that is no considerable number of them cared for it. Johannesburg was a mining camp, a heterogeneous collection * * * It is fair to assume that some of them wished their children to have some kind of education. But the statement that any considerable number

were willing to have a war or even a Jameson Raid over a question whether the instruction in the public schools, should be in English or Dutch, if made in Johannesburg would have produced no result more serious than laughter."

H. MULLER (Envoy of the Orange Free State) says:—"As to public education I cannot very well see that the English Outlanders have a right to reproach the Govt. of the S. A. Rep. on the ground that in some of the elementary schools no English is being taught when these same foreigners contribute a large amount to the exchequer. I suppose there is not a country in the world where the elementary education is given in another language than the language of the country. And the taxes are not required from the foreigners for such elementary schools *but for the gold which they extract from the soil*." "The Govt. of the S. A. Rep., in order to try and pacify and give as much satisfaction as possible; has, since the Jameson Raid, established State Schools in mining districts where the chief medium of instruction is English and only very little time at all devoted to the language of the country."

From a dispatch published in the *Blue Book* (C 3345 40) sent by the British Resident at Pretoria January 27, '99 Stickney has deduced that the three principal topics engrossing the minds of Uitlanders were labor, rum, and gold. But I cannot agree with this. There were many men of sober habits and fair minds uninfluenced by these incitants and also by longings for Anglo supremacy,—but they were QUIET.

When the Germans of New York agitated for German schools did they attain their wishes? Did not the German schools about Allentown, &c., in Pennsylvania, yield to those of this country? When a foreigner is *determined to renounce his country* and become a good citizen of another he no longer strives to retain his old language, but endeavors to learn that of his adoption and is zealous to have his children instructed in it. The English of Johannesburg never wished to become citizens of a Dutch Republic, they were united in the determination to remain *subjects of Great Britain*.

KRUGER made proclamation ordering all to remain within pale of the law and calling on the well-disposed to aid him. JACOBUS DE WET, (British agent), telegraphed the High Commissioner's proclamation, which ordered Jameson to retire immediately from the S. A. Rep., recognizing that S. A. Rep. as a friendly State in amity with H. M. Govt. Whatever might have been the Govt's motives in doing this at the time it is unquestionably true Jameson and his officers could not have organized and moved such a force without its knowledge and consent. For the invaders comprised 350 *Chartered men* under Major Willoughby of the *Roy. Horse Guards*, White of 2nd *Grenadier Guards*, Tracey of *Scots Guards*, &c., &c., and 120 *Bechuanaland Police* under Grey of the 6th *Inniskilling Dragoons* and Coventry of the 3d *Mil. Bat. Worcester Reg.* These met at Malami, Dec. 30, '95, and marched two days. The High Commissioner's order reached Jameson on Jan. 1. He wrote in answer that he must go to Krugersdorp or Johannesburg to feed his men and horses! Fighting occurred at Krugersdorp, and Jameson was forced to retreat to higher ground. At Doornkop he was surrounded by the Boers under CRONJE, his men were overmatched and fatigued but fought bravely, at last surrendered "without a flag" (!) they had not fought under any; on condition (according to Jameson) their lives should be spared and Jameson should reimburse the S. A. Rep. for the expenses he had caused it.

MALAN denying this, (and the sworn attestations of CRONJE and six witnesses affirm that the surrender was *unconditional*), declared CRONJE could have no right to agree to such conditions, it lay with the War Council and the Commandant Gen. to decide. The English contested the matter and it was a serious subject of controversy afterwards.

Jameson lost 13 killed, 40 wounded, the Boers 4 killed, 5 wounded, in this action. Great humanity was shown the captives. The Boers gave up much of their own scanty stores, even their very blankets for their foemens comfort, and their enemies declare they acted "with admirable self restraint," "with commendable dignity and great humanity." "Nothing could exceed the kindness of the people" says Bigelow in his *W. M. A. 12 et seq.*, "they did not celebrate the event by cheers," "they prayed for Jameson and his men." (!)

Officials of the British Govt. expressed great regret, but there is every reason to believe that if Jameson had been successful he would have been commended and the fruit of his victory retained. Just as HOPE POPHAM, in his buccannering expedition to Buenos Ayres in 1806, tempted to exceed orders by the wealth and weakness of that Spanish City, was sanctioned by the Ministry when news of his first successes and 1,000,000 dollars reached the Home Govt. and shortly afterwards, when his force had been captured and himself driven away, was court-martialled and censured by the very same Ministers!

There was nothing left for the Reform committee but surrender. On this committee, to his eternal disgrace, was an American:—J. Hays Hammond. A disgrace to the country whose principles of justice and liberty he is bound by his citizenship to uphold! A disgracer of the laws of nations, of the civilization of to-day. This man, together with Col. Frank Rhodes, was the representative of Cecil Rhodes of the Consol. Gold Fields Company the Machiavelli of the whole detestable conspiracy. Kindly treated by a community in whose territory and by whose sufferance he was drawing his torture, a community which we are pleased to find afterwards did such a man the greatest evil it could by *granting him his life*. Hays Hammond was to the Boers in a lesser degree

what Arnold was to our countrymen in the revolution! he was a traitor to their Republicanism in the interest of Monarchy.

Careful consideration of the whole matter has convinced the writer that the grievances of the Uitlanders would all have been peaceably adjusted had not capitalistic interests and British lust for dominion prompted intermeddling: A peaceful policy and patient good offices on the part of Great Britain, meeting S. A. Rep. with frankness and unselfishness would have gradually ameliorated the bitterness of 100 years of almost incessant evil and brought about all that has been most ardently desired by the sincere on the complaining side, without the shedding of one drop of the precious blood now watering the kopjes and veldts of Africa's soil.

Sixty-three of the "Reformers" were tried, Phillips, Frank Rhodes, Farrar and Hammond condemned to death and the others to 2 years' imprisonment, fines of £2000, and 3 years' banishment. ALL WERE EVENTUALLY RELEASED ON PAYMENT OF FINES INSIGNIFICANT CONSIDERING THE ENORMITY OF THE OFFENSE (June 11.) Of the four condemned to death, Phillips, Farrar and Hammond signed an agreement not to meddle directly or indirectly in the internal or external politics of the S. A. Rep. for 15 years (as the others of the 63 had done for 3 years.) Rhodes refused and was escorted out of the Republic banished for 15 years.

The fines amounted to, says FITZPATRICK, who calls it blood money, (*T. T. f W. 280*), "from 4 of them £100,000 from 56 others £112,000;"—very inadequate considering the enormity of their conduct! As to the PARDON:—

Queen Victoria telegraphed Pres Kruger:—"This act will redound to the credit of your Honor." As to the compensation to the outraged Republic!—Premier Milner promised to take it *under consideration*. It is possibly still "under" for all that is known. The raiders were never publicly punished or reprimanded! FITZPATRICK devotes much space to the trial and treatment of the "Reformers." Remember *he was one of the tried!* But let whoever is doubtful of FITZPATRICK's impartiality, even when thus informed, read the first printed matter in his book (*T. T. of W.*) in which it is told, "Mr. Chamberlain, in reply to a Westmoreland correspondent complaining of a want of a printed defence of Govt. policy in the Transvaal, said 'I refer you to Mr. Fitzpatrick's book!'" Yet many people have only gained knowledge of their Boer brethren from this volume!

In an official despatch, Chamberlain himself says; "The Boers are a sober God-fearing race of men, they were admittedly kind to our wounded and the prisoners." And so they have proved themselves all through this unhappy war up to the very present, (malgre the stories of shooting under flags of truce, firing on the white flag using dum-dum bullets and shelling ambulances,—stories which investigated show that *each side has been to blame with a preponderance of authentic testimony against the British* generally through misconception unavoidable in the confusion of battle, and in the latter case often due to the miles of distance at which bombardment is now a days carried on,) magnanimous to the conquered, kind to the wounded and generous to the prisoners. Not so always the British leaders or soldiers. Read the published despatches in regard to this.

1898. December. Shooting of Edgar. Petition for British Interference, from Uitlanders.

T. J. Edgar, of Johannesburg, returning home at about midnight, an ill and intoxicated man made an offensive remark to him. Edgar knocked him insensible to the ground. The police were called, broke into Edgar's house, and met him in the passageway; the police say he struck the constable twice on the head with an iron shod stick, Mrs. Edgar and other spectators say he did not strike at all and could not possibly have done so in the time. The policeman shot Edgar dead, he was arrested next morning on the charge of manslaughter and released on his comrades sureties of £200. This is the gist of FITZPATRICK's account (*T. T. of W. 333-4*). The Boer account is that Edgar had struck the intoxicated man a mortal blow, and almost killed one of the policemen, who then shot him in self defense, JOUBERT (*Let to V.*) My correspondence with Boers verifies this. Worse incidents than this have occurred in our own West,—and in large English cities, too.

However this may be, the indignation of the Uitlanders (English?) passed all bounds and five thousand odd persons marched to the British Vice Consul's office and read a monster petition. Acting High Comm. WILLIAM BUTLER returned it them, REFUSED. It was then re-drafted and 21000 signatures obtained in the course of the following weeks "by that loyal and enthusiastic little band of British subjects" (!) "who form the Johannesburg branch of the S. A. League. JOUBERT (*Let to V.*) calls it a false document stated to have been voluntarily signed by 21000 oppressed aliens * * * If your Majesty would have that petition sent to Johannesburg to be publicly and impartially scrutinized it would soon be manifest how many thousand names appended thereto are persons who have never read or seen it and of numerous others who have long been dead."

Pres. KRUGER says the petition of 23,000 Uitlanders who signed a counter declaration, (of loyalty), to the S. Afric. Rep.) was entirely ignored.

The constable was acquitted of culpable homicide and the Judge said, thereupon:—"I hope the police under difficult circumstances will always know how to do their duty."

MILNER (High Comm.), transmitted the new petition to England, and Chamberlain made great use of it in championing the cause of Uitlander grievances, later on, when it became convenient for him to alter his attitude and avow new sentiments, as he has found it profitable to do so many times! (Consult various speeches of the Colonial Sec. in Parliament and at various meetings in English towns).

1899. (May 8). Chamberlain (Commons speech) said: "To go to war with Pres. Kruger to enforce upon him reforms in the internal affairs of his State—that would be a course of action which would be immoral."

July. Law of Farms exempts Boer who resides on the farm, but, in event of war, taxes twenty pounds, the companies, association, corporations or partnerships who own farms.

Sent to fall mostly on undeveloped farms whose rental value would not pay the tax. Formulated in 1895 but was shelved for a time, declared by "the law officers of the Crown to be a breach of the London Convention," "it is of a price with the rest, having sold his farm to the Uitlander the Boer now proceeds to plunder him." The tax falls not only on the really valuable farms of the high veldt * * * but on the undeveloped outlying farms the rentals of which would not on the average suffice to pay the tax! Fitzpatrick (*T. T. f. W.* III.) No excuse can be made for this law.

Chamberlain remarks "The rights of our action under the Convention is limited to the offering of *friendly counsel* in the rejection of which if it is not accepted, we must be quite willing to acquiesce," and "not only this *Govt.* but successive secretaries of State have pledged themselves repeatedly that they would have nothing to do with its internal affairs."

(August 19) REITZ, (South African Republic Sec. for Foreign Affairs), official message to British Consul). Franchise Concession offered which Chamberlain rejects and increases his demands thereafter.

"The Govt. are willing to recommend to the Volksraad and the People a *five years retrospective franchise as proposed by His Excellency the High Comm.* at Bloemfontein on June 1, '99." That "eight new seats in the 1st Volksraad and, if necessary, also in the second Volksraad, be given to the population of the Witwatersrand, thus, with the two sitting members of the Gold fields, giving to the population thereof 10 representatives in a Raad of 36; and in future the representation of the Gold fields shall not fall below one-quarter of the total," that "the new burghers shall equally with the old burghers, be entitled to vote at the election for State President and Commandant General." and that this Govt. will always be prepared to take into consideration such friendly suggestions regarding the details of the Franchise Law as her Majesty's Govt. through the British Agent may wish to convey to it." In putting forward these proposals the S. A. Rep. assumes that no precedent for similar action will be based on the present intervention, that the assertion of Suzerainty will not further be insisted on and that arbitration will be conceded as soon as the Franchise scheme has become law.

But Chamberlain rejected these proposals; reasonable as they are, and practically identical as they can be proven to be with his own *former* wishes.

The Boer Govt. withdrew theirs and desired Great Britain to adhere to the original ones which they had previously declared to be both fair and liberal to the new population, in their opinion. England was then massing troops.

Chamberlain replied that "the Imperial Govt. are now compelled to consider the situation afresh and formulate proposals for a final settlement of the issues in S. Africa," &c. (Sept. 22). These proposals appear to have never been formulated.

On Oct. 9, the Boer Govt. demanded the troops be withdrawn from their frontier and that the despatch of others to S. Africa, pending the negotiations, should stop. They suggested ARBITRATION a second time.

Chamberlain ignored the request for arbitration and the English Govt. went on preparing for war and endeavoring to accumulate such a force as should crush all resistance.

In fact, the whole treatment of the subject by Chamberlain was calculated to exasperate a brave, free, cruelly injured people, yet he has only continued what his predecessors began. "Our whole dealing with the Boers from the Great Trek to to-day" says STEAD (*R. of R.*) has not been such as to justify any confidence in our honesty, good faith, or even in our permanent consistency, in any given course."

Oct. 11. Boer government declared war. An act *compelled* by the conviction that delay would mean the loss of the only opportunity of offering substantial resistance (*Balt. News Nov. 7.*)

Oct. 19 Chamberlain, in a 2 hour speech calculated largely to appeal to the vanity and ardor of the people, declared the Jameson Raid affair closed by the finding of Parliamentary inquiry, he refused to produce a letter, written to him by Hawkesley of the S. African Co.; said to contain specific proofs of the complicity of the Colonial office in the Raid; offering, however, if asked, to show it to two persons who were parties to the suppression of the inquiry. He further stated that: "GREAT BRITAIN MUST REMAIN THE PARAMOUNT POWER IN S.AFRICA, I do not mean paramount in the German and Portuguese possessions, but in the two republics, and the British Colonies." * * * The whole object of these Boers has been to oust the Queen from her position as suzerain. * * * The Transvaal and the Free State have an ideal which is DANGEROUS TO GREAT BRITAIN." Yet we were told before that Chamberlain was only taking Uitlander grievances to heart! MILNER, later, in answering MOLTENO, (Dutch leader in the Cape Legislature), as to the reason of the war, replied "I AM DETERMINED TO BREAK THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM" (*Times, Nov. 4, 99.*)

The Boer Govt. did not cause war, it existed the moment Great Britain strengthened her force in S. Africa." A. CARNEGIE (*Nov., 1899.*)

And this war is aggravated by the fact that FIVE TIMES has England (in 1836, 1852, 1854 1881 & 1884), solemnly promised these persecuted people self government, only to shame fully violate her guarantees each time!

Great sympathy was aroused in Europe, America and among the Cape Dutch. There are now some 500,000 Dutch or Afrikaner Dutch in S. Africa, and the great majority, no one knows how bitterly, resent this war F. SELOUS (*World, Nov. 12, 1899.*) "The great majority of our people" (U. S.), "condemn the S. African War. The efforts of England to call it a war of civilization and compare it with our war with Spain are looked upon as absurd * * * Far better might she compare it with her wars against the American Colonies."—(*Baltimore American*).

Here I conclude this melancholy recital of incontrovertible facts, facts which exhibit England's conduct throughout the whole century in a most unenviable light, the first Boer colony acquired by fraud and force, and retained under a harsh, stern, military rule, the currency redeemed and slaves set free without just return to their former holders, who, avoiding civil war, and seeking peace, migrate and found a new colony, followed by the persecution of the British, and occupying it but a few years, ere the all-seeking paw of the greedy lion is laid upon them. Then we see the Boers a second time gather his household and effects about him and pass the Drakensburg and seek in new lands freedom and peace, away from British jealousy and British greed.

Did he find this Elysium? No! FITZPATRICK says it was a Chimera!

It was no more a Chimera,—that glorious ideal for which the Boer of 1836 braved the terrors of the wilderness and poured out his blood,—than that precisely similar ideal for which the American of 1776 strove and gained, had the ambition of Great Britain ceased to menace him. Our struggling country had no *great* rival colony on its confines, had no *overwhelming* tribes to contend with at the time of England's attacks, had a long interval between those invasions to increase in wealth and population and had the *sympathies* of foreign nations to uphold it in its steady rise. But the unfortunate Boer found himself facing the utter reverse of all these advantages. And yet in the face of all the glaring contradictions of the recent year, Fitzpatrick (*T. T. f W. 11*) has the effrontery to state "Justice rules where ignorance and bias sat, *liberty where there was interference* (!) protection from oppression," etc. * * * "But the Boer sees with the eyes of sixty years ago." Singular if he did not! "They trekked and trekked and trekked again but the flag of England * * * was close by, behind, beside in front or over them and the something they could not fight, the ever advancing tide of *civilization* lapped at their feet." For Mr. Fitzpatrick's "Civilization" read lust of gold and dominion and you read aright. No, it was no Chimera!

In reviewing the whole relations of the Boers with other nations, we cannot but acknowledge their perfect capacity to govern and uphold themselves as a free people, witness their defeat of the Zulus under Dingaan in 1838, their decisive repulse of the English in 1881, their admirable method of dealing with the Jameson Raid, and the heroic resistance they are now making to all the veteran hosts of their persistent enemy.

But to continue:—

An endless interference on the part of the English with the relations of the Republics with the native tribes, *tribes they were themselves, slaughtering in thousands* in their repeated bloody wars, tribes whose lands they were annexing in every direction and under any pretext to prevent the extension of Boer territory, and Boer access to the sea, tribes whom they were more at war with than any of the Boer colonies had ever been, follows, interspersed with the theft of the Diamond fields the seizure of the Orange Free State, and of the Transvaal, under most discreditable circumstances, the imposal of the

arbitrary Pretoria and London Treaties under menace of superior force, the stirring up of the Uitlanders to demand ideal reforms, the indefensible raid on the S. A. Republic, the chicanery of Chamberlain and lastly, the interference in its internal affairs and the collection of large bodies of troops in the Colony and on the frontiers which forced the war. Civilization should blush,—Humanity awaken,—act! This infamous war *must* be stopped, the swelling tide of English conquest arrested, the shameful intrigues of Chamberlain and Rhodes defeated, not one cubic inch of the rich Witwatersrand permitted to accrue to the Dominion of Great Britain, and the absolute freedom of high-souled men who have shown they can die for their glorious ideal facing six times their numbers in the battle field, assured at once and forever.

Let it be intimated to England, and such as her, that the Boer Republics under the laws of our days *have rights within themselves all nations are bound to respect*, that the lawless times of Cortez and Pizarro are forever flown, and that all professedly civilized countries reverting to barbarism to achieve their vile and selfish ends will be promptly corrected, and forced to make restitution to the injured they have wantonly despoiled.

Countries can no longer hold themselves aloof, from contact with the great principles agitating and involving the entire world, they must take an active part, or *themselves* retrograde and suffer. It is demanded as a necessity, as a voucher of our progress, as a confutation of the old barbaric maxim,

“They should take who have the power
And they should keep who can,”

that we:—

INTERVENE!

ABBREVIATIONS USED OF WORKS CONSULTED.

- OLIVE SCHRIENER “*The South African Question*,” 1899 (S. A. Q.)
 MCFARLANE & THOMSON “*Comprehensive Hist. of England*,” Blackie & Co. (C. H. of E.)
 “*Colonial records and letters*,” (C. R. L.)
 THEAL’S “*Hist. of Boers*,” (H. of B.)
 NIXON “*Story of the Transvaal*,” 1885, (S. of T.)
 FITZPATRICK’S “*The Transvaal from Within*” 1900, (T. T. f W.)
 BRYCE “*Impressions of S. Africa*,” (I. of S. A.)
 JOUBERT “*Letter to Victoria June 15, '99*” (Let. to V.)
 CLOETE “*Story of Great Boer Trek*,” (S. of G. B. T.)
 J. KING “*Jameson’s Raid*” London, 1896, (Js. R.)
 J. HOPKINS “*Forum*” Dec. 1899, (F.)
 CLARKE’S “*Transvaal*,” (Tr.)
 CARTER, T. F. “*Narrative of Boer War*,” (N. of B. W.)
 STEAD “*Review of Reviews*” Nov. 1899, 595, (R. of R.)
 MARTINEAU “*Life of Bartle Frere*” (M. L. of B. F.)
 BISHOP COLENSO “*Natal letters*” (N. L.)
 J. A. HOBSON “*War in S. Africa*,” 1900, (W. S. A.)
 YOUNGHUSBAND “*South Africa of To-day*,” London, 1899, (S. A. of T.)
 AYLWARD’S *works and letters* (Aylward.)
 MRS. HAMMOND “*A Woman’s Part in a Revolution*,” (A. W. P. in A. R.)
 P. BIGELOW “*White man’s Africa*,” (W. M. A.)
 BRYCE’S “*Story of South Africa*,” (S. of S. A.)
 “ “ “*American Commonwealth*,” 1897. (A. C.)
 AMOS DEAN “*History of Civilization*,” 7 vol., 1869.
 CONSUL AT PRETORIA “*Oom Paul’s People*,” (O. P’s P.)
 And various letters, state documents, records, histories of United States, England, *et al*, — encyclopedias, — (aggregating some forty works), &c.
 Newspaper despatches, I have rarely referred to, recognizing their uncertainty, but have gone back to authentic records as much as possible.

Eldenda.

A LAST APPEAL FOR A SUFFERING PEOPLE.

*"Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,
A breath can make them as a breath hath made,
But a bold peasantry; their country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied."*

Since April, when the preceding matter was sent to press, events have been momentous in the history of the Conquest of South Africa; to the dishonor and humiliation of an acquiescent world.

The armies of patriotism and principle have been forced from position after position, impregnable in vast natural frontal strength but yet untenable, simply because the immense forces of oppression and piracy would have been able in every case to surround and isolate or starve out any defenders of their country imitating CRONJE in his rash but admirably heroic stand. All, however, is not yet lost and had the United States a true-hearted *representative* Executive and Congress at its helm wishful to vindicate its olden policy, or any of the other great Powers of the world a ruler endowed with a spark of the chivalry of a GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS or the all-daring courage of a CATHARINA of Thuringia braving an Alva, Britain would not, even at this late hour, be permitted to crush out the lives and liberty of an irreplaceable people in, as her minion Roberts arrogantly declares, "settling this affair in her own way."

But the nations, sordidly engrossed in promoting their commercial prosperity, corruptly bought over by England, or fearfully craving present peace at whatever future cost, have remained supinely inert, criminally indifferent to one of the gravest issues of the age; even the colonies of the infamous spoiler who could have so greatly aided the Boers while securing their own freedom, have foolishly sacrificed one of the greatest opportunities that could ever present itself for their improval. And the eloquent speeches and stirring essays born of the enlightened and far-seeing minds amongst us have fallen for the most part like seed on barren soil, leaving few visible traces of vitality as evinced by the actions of those in whose souls they were meant to germinate.

This conclusively demonstrates that the self-same, much-decried, BRUTE FORCE actuating the barbarian Goth, Vandal and Hun of yore, still rules

supreme over the so-called civilized peoples of the present day, and that THOUGHT, as expressed by the Voice and the Pen is palsied before the uplifted Sword. Must we then reverse the eloquent maxim aptly placed in the mouth of Richelieu by the gifted Bulwer? For the present, perhaps, yes!; In the future, we trust, no! **"Thought is mighty and will prevail,"** but its labors, though herculean, are unseen and slow, while the years that come and go, fraught with events we, in our brief existence, deem momentous; are but as one star in the boundless universe or a single animalcule in the mile-deep ocean; exhaustless, incalculable, infinite!

It has required hundreds of years for the evolution of a middle class out of the ignorant masses constituting serfdom, centuries on centuries to abolish slavery even amongst the most advanced peoples, and ages and ages, perhaps hundreds of thousands of years, nay millions, to bring life upon our planet to what it is today. Geology has proved this latter, Geology that waged its long and bitter struggle against the fanatic bigotry of Religion with the mute, significant testimony of the layer of the rock, the ring of the redwood, the growth of the dragon-tree, the annual blue deposits of the mud of the Nile, and the vast but inconceivably gradual evaporation of the Stassfurt inland sea; Geology that, triumphing over its insensate opponent, is *adopted by its former foe today! though it values not its adopter.*

Let those who despair of any great eventual improvement of our kind, reflect on this and think of the generations after generations doubtless to succeed ours for unimaginable ages, and hope!

But though Nature would seem to design, in this instance of the BOERS, the present suppression of LIBERTY, there is no reason we should view this apathetically as indifferent, impotent, onlookers. We should strive to our utmost to expedite that upliftment of Truth and Justice which is undoubtedly ultimately certain though probably slow; else are we lesser partners in this guilt.

"---Hear this truth snblime,

He who permits oppression, shares the crime."

In this, I firmly believe, we are free agents; despite the assertions of some ultra-fatalists who support a theory that there is *a subtle, ineluctible force or civilizing power*, operating undeviatingly in all nature for the ultimate perfectment of the world, regardless of the incidental sufferings of one or more individuals or nations, that human resistance cannot check nor alter however greatly it may be incited by occasional vagaries in the procedure of that power appealing to its sense of injustice or awakening its compassion.

And considering the progress made by the British in subjugating the Afrikanders, pretty prompt action must be taken *if Man and not Time* is to be the chief factor in their enfranchisement,—as one or the other surely will.

Roberts has taken Pretoria, over-run the Transvaal, (the magnanimity of the Boers in sparing the Johannesburg mines and machinery has apparently passed for nothing—in a war for freedom against an unscrupulous aggressor there is such a thing as being over conscientious), crowded BOTHA and his patriotic followers into the rugged mountains of the north and east, and forced the aged and ailing, but indomitable, President of the South African Republic to seek a temporary refuge in Portugal's possessions.

It is extraordinary that the subservience of the Portuguese to Great Britain; manifested by their basely permitting on a flimsy pretext, the easy passage of Carrington's troops through what should have been neutral territory, did not induce them to surrender the illustrious old refugee to British savagery; probably England dreaded the effect on popular sentiment almost certain to ensue if the venerable KRUGER was made the victim of such an infamous transaction.

But these predictable successes of the unenviable Roberts are brightened by no real glamour of military glory, on the contrary each new victory redounds to the added shame of the man and the nation vindictively warring against Liberty and Right with forces outnumbering the Boer armies nearly twelve to one. Think of it! 'Tis an anaconda crushing a rabbit; a bull-terrier worrying a rat! And yet, "wonderful strategy," "magnificent marches," "complete victories," is trumpeted of Roberts the leader of hosts, that can only justly pertain to the leader of an *equal or inferior* command; under such conditions, and such only, exists true army generalship and is displayed real military strategy!

With the redundant facilities at his disposal, every advantage this man gains is merely a natural consequence of his power to envelope his victims by sheer length and strength of line; every reverse, of which he has had not a few to report, prefaced with "regrets," is an inexcusable ignominy.

He knows neither how to accept defeat with complacency, nor how to sustain victories, (such as they are), with becoming moderation; a characteristic of the people whose mercenaries he directs.

Behold, already, how "CIVILIZED" Britain follows up her triumphs! It is Jeffries' assizes! it is Ireland's expiation for "rebellions!" it is India's Sepoy Mutiny severities! it is SLACHTER's NEK executions! again rehearsed after the

same cruel, relentless fashion as of old.

The trials for treason in the Cape Colony, the burning of over a hundred Boer farms to terrorize the patriotically inclined, or on the discovery of buried arms, or in revenge for suspected relief afforded their distressed countrymen; the deportation of THOUSANDS of young and old of a devoted people, (like the Siberian exiles that this same hypocritical canting England that is now committing these atrocious crimes against Humanity and Nature, inveighed so bitterly against "barbarous Russia" for tearing from their homes and kindred and exposing to the rigors of an ungenial clime), to the hot unhealthy island of Ceylon; Ceylon where ARABI, Egypt's KOSCIUSKO, yet languishes in fretful age and broken spirit after a captivity of *eighteen years!* a noble victim, like NAPOLEON, to illusive trust in the EMPTY NAME OF ENGLISH HONOR.): and to the barren rock of St. Helena, lest they rejoin the yet heroically resisting remnants of the armies of the republics; the needless, hasty, heartless execution of LIEUT. CORDUA for breakage of his parole and attempt to abduct the pigmy-souled British commander; the pitiless sway of martial law hurriedly proclaimed over the yet imperfectly stolen territory by that bandit-general, who now bids fair to emulate there the horrors of a Thirty Years War, horrors retrograding the progress of Germany upwards of a century: perhaps posing as a new Tilly or a second Wallenstein in rapine and brutality, blackening with ruins and strewing with corpses the once smiling and prosperous republic of the Vaal;—all combine to show that England moves hopelessly on in the identical old deepening ruts of the same disgraceful road she has travelled for hundreds of years and that she is as incapable of magnanimity and moderation as she is of recognizing the common principles of Justice as demonstrated in the admitted rights of property or upheld by the usual rulings of international law.

It has been urged in defence of Roberts that he is but executing his duty I deny it! **The soldier of today must no longer be the automaton of yore,** enlisted blindly to fight, country right or wrong; country away.

He owes a higher duty to PRINCIPLE; he has, or should have been, educated to use his reason and that reason tells him, IF HE HAS BEEN EDUCATED ARIGHT, that his sole utility, nay glory, lies not in blind obedience to unjust or oppressive authority., **but in resisting aggression,** or maintaining order sanctioned by **just Law,**

Unfortunately, in some respects, for true civilization, a soldiery must still be retained by even the most progressive commonwealths while even one tribe

more barbaric than another, remains on the face of the globe. or while the ambition for power characterizing an Alexander. the political cravings giving rise to such a creature as a Chamberlain, and the lust for wealth that renders possible a monstrosity typified by a Rothschild, is deliberately instilled into, or permitted to develop uncurbed in, the minds of our children.

The most valuable and enlightened citizen of any country, is he who boldly refuses to be drafted for a soldier in an unrighteous war;—were there very many such admirable men, Civilization would receive a new impetus and crimes against society, like those now being perpetrated in South Africa and the Philippines, would be rendered impossible,

And our own pitiable country, the silent partner of England in this lawless annexation of a second, but worthier, Poland; what shall be said of it? led astray by the *ignis fatuus* of territorial conquest in the ravaged Philippines, and who knows but perhaps also eventually lured into deplorable schemes tending towards empire, which not one of the great ancient nations has survived; in persecuted China?—oppressing annexed, but disenfranchised, Porto Rico,—delaying liberty long promised to “emancipated” Cuba,—and shooting down **here, on her own “free” soil**, on slight occasion, her ill-remunerated, ignored and wealth-enslaved citizens; witness Cour d’Alene, Homestead and Lattimer, (perhaps more of Pennsylvania before the present miner’s strike is permanently settled!) amongst a dozen similar shameful instances, in all of which **MURDER** is committed under the cloak of **LAW** and the murderers go free.

What shall be said of our rulers who support Great Britain *morally?* of our capitalists who lend her aid *financially?* Morally support, because they have neglected, for the *first time* since our birth as a Republic, to offer intervention, or even pass a resolution expressing sympathy with, a heroic people, whose youth and age are being offered up as inestimable sacrifices at the shrine of Liberty.—because the Boer envoys sent to invoke our friendly offices and welcomed by the populace at large, have been as slightly received by the anglophile Administration as well could be in the face of unmistakable public sentiment, and their cause coolly abandoned to the tender mercies of Great Britain! Financially aided, because we have **SUBSIDIZED** England, even as England subsidized Germany prior to the infamous Polish partition! *by loaning money to her on her bonds.* **A Republic pouring its treasure into the coffers of a Monarchy! SHAME!** But this

is not all, Americans! **TRUE AMERICANS!** one of whom I am proud to be, tremble at what alarmingly impends over you! Every bond of Great Britain's purchased with your gold; every mine of your precious metal bought or invested in by English capital, (Hays-Hammond, the treacherous raider, is now at work for intriguing Werner, Beit and Co. in the West); every acre of land indirectly acquired by the wealthy speculators of the United Kingdom; every daughter of your false citizens prostituted to the owners of British estates and titles to gratify a most un-American ambition; forges another ponderous link in the already weighty chain that will eventually load and bow and bind you down to England's tyrannic will, more surely than the efforts of all her armies, were they ever so great.

Rouse yourselves! Cast it off before it paralyzes your energies with the tolerance of custom; before it is securely riveted to the pillars of alliance; reform your corrupted government **BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE**, invest in no more English securities, gradually dispose of such as have already, unhappily, been acquired, decry instead of lauding inter-marriages with lords and earls, cease longing for "American vice-queens;" and hereafter lend your hearty assistance where it is justly due:

TO REPUBLICS INSTEAD OF MONARCHIES;

realizing that England is not, nor ever can be, the true friend of our country while she adheres to the institutions of the latter class of governments.

Do not suffer your better judgement to be misled by interested and plotting journalists. Place no reliance whatever in the Press of the country; the Chinese "massacre" reports, it issued so circumstantially, ought to have afforded you a significant indication of its unreliability: with a few brilliant exceptions, its vast majority is for **TRADE**, not **PATRIOTISM**, and many of its editors suppress *everything possible in the form of free speech or enlightened opinion*, that they either judge conflicts with their own treasured belief, or apprehend endangers political or financial prosperity, viewed with their narrow vision, or from their selfish standpoint; and failing otherwise to obscure Truth, misrepresent its facts, or else load it with ridicule, that potent agent for suppression that never answered, nor can answer, one argument.

This giant of good, perverted to a geni of evil, has said that when Pretoria fell the war should have ceased: (so should, then, have ours when Philadelphia received Lord Howe in 1776, or when Washington was evacuated in haste by our Administration in 1814.);—that **BOTHA, VILJOEN, DELARY and DE WER's** guerilla warfare is needless effusion of blood for a hopeless

object; [forgetful(?) that our gallant MARION and dashing SUMTER kept alive the patriotic ardor of the Carolinas long after the regular army had been shattered, and until GREENE arrived to succor and to triumph!—forgetful of WASHINGTON's declaration to Col Reed, uttered during the most gloomy period of our own Revolution, that, if necessary, he would cross the Alleghanies *and try what might be accomplished by a Predatory war.*]

A WAR FOR FREEDOM NEVER ENDS.

The spark of Liberty may temporarily languish, but it blazes forth again in flame when agitation re-enlivens it, like the whirled fire-stick of the Australian, enkindling all contiguous to it with its glorious glow, Who dares to say the strife for liberty in either Poland or Ireland is extinct? It slumbers even as fire in the midst of tow, unnoticed; breathe on it and all is flame.

And so will it be with the Transvaal and the Free State, unless England proceeding with unparalleled diabolism, is able to deport or destroy their entire populations; an annihilation not even Westermann's devastating columns found it possible to effect in blood-deluged La Vendee.

WORKINGMEN OF AMERICA! Laborers with hand or brain in honest ways, ye who are the **People** and, though you prove it not, the **Rulers**; ye who quietly let others usurp your authority who fail to execute your wishes; it remains to be seen whether or not you will sanction this iniquitous injustice jeopardizing **ALL LIBERTY, yours as well as that of the unhappy Boers!** by your consenting silence. Will you support the unrepugnant attitude of the man you are falsely supposed to have elected to the highest office in the land? Will you permit this vacillating puppet, cringing to wealth and dancing to the tune of Commerce,* actuated by the to him irresistible impulses of opulent trade-worshippers, sunk in debasing sloughs of luxury,

* Commerce! At any sacrifice—by any baseness!—does it not force us to exclaim with HESIOD:

"Fools! not to know how far an humble lot

Exceeds abundance by injustice got."

Commerce is one of the fairest of the handmaidens attendant on benignant Peace: fostered by wisdom and courted with virtue, she is a potent civilizer of, and an inestimable blessing to, man in his present state. but enjoyed to excess; pursued without that due regard to PRINCIPLE essential in all the undertakings of life; she induces a slow decay of every manly attribute AND BECOMES THE DEADLY BANE OF AN ERST PROSPERING COMMUNITY.

Long ago this was recognized. Lycurgus' iron currency prohibited it in Laacedemon, Campanella slights it in his "City of the Sun", as does More in his "Utopia," and Charles Johnstone in "CHRYSAE", (1760. ch. 3,) declares: "That though trade adds to the wealth, yet too eager a pursuit of it, even with the greatest success, diminishes the strength of a nation. ---- WHEREAS THE SPIRIT OF COMMERCE CENTRES ALL IN SELF, discouraging and despising as folly EVERY THOUGHT THAT DOES NOT TEND THAT WAY."

WE HAVE NOT LEARNT THE FATEFUL LESSON OF THE AGES YET!

and anglicized parvenues aping aristocracy and seeking to found it here, in this once equal Republic,—this would-be emperor-president, a slave to he rich, an autocrat to the poor, hanging like a pitiful, toddling, weakling to the skirts of Britannia and lowering our once great nation down to the wretched level of a mere colony of Great Britain!—will you permit, I ask, this degenerate from the illustrious WASHINGTON and the high-minded MADISON, backed by his venal Cabinet and Senate, (the latter a body which should never have been instituted, nor now allowed to exist, in mimicry of the House of Lords.); to pose in despotic role, to destroy our venerated Constitution to tear away the last shreds of our once prized equality, and to cover us all with effaceless shame by his unpatriotic and unrepblican acts?

In your hands lies the remedy. Exert your long dormant power! Demonstrate that justice, patriotism, manhood, are not extinct among us.

There are many ways in which to essay accomplishing this **PEACEABLY**.

Hold mass meetings condemning the present ruinous policy. Pass resolutions favoring Boer liberty. Address a monster petition to Congress. Or, best of all, administer that scathing rebuke **the Ballot, rightly used**, alone can convey to the low-minded office grasper and his place hunting creatures.

Elect the most **HONEST** man available without regard to party, but to **Principle**. Believe not in “Mc Kinley and prosperity,” his vaunted “prosperity” is as the deported ex-dynamiter, banished from the shores of what he hoped would prove a haven of refuge, said to his companion, who invoked the Statue of Liberty gracing our harbor, on quitting our coast: “It’s hollow Jim!”

Elect any but the man whose vacillation, whose leaning toward combinations of capital menacing to the community, and whose tradesman’s spirit, allying autocratic ambition, we know so well. Four more years of Mc Kinley will go far towards destroying all we have so long upheld with honor to ourselves with justice to others and with respect from the world. Bryan may not perform all he promises; the Democratic party harbors corruption as well as the Republican; but the **PRINCIPLES** his party has put forward, resolving themselves into the simple sentence: “**WE WISH TO REMAIN FREE PEOPLE;**” are **THE** subjects to be considered and not, altogether, the **man** or the **party**; whether or not either fail to carry out the principles they advocate, after Election, need not be considered now; a remedy can be provided for that later. should they prove false to their pledges to the people!

But if all your efforts fail, and fail they unfortunately may, **WORKINGMEN** on whom we base our fervent hopes of **LIBERTY**, there is a **final appeal**,

to which, *if made by you in concert*, there can be no successful resistance!

Glean what that is from THIS; Patrician Rome felt its potency when her plebeian masses sought the Sacred Hill; the Spanish despots of Naples fell before it when the despised lazzaroni rose as one man and placed the humble fisherman in the vice regal seat.; England bowed to it when the tyrannic Charles saw his cavalier armies routed by the shop-keeping Ironsides of CROMWELL; the wanton noblesse of France laid their haughty and frivolous heads on the ensanguined block at its ineluctible will, when the abused *sans culottes* of the last century discovered their terrible might; and the anglicized, the imperialistic, the would-be enslaving, directors of a policy subversive of our long-cherished principles, condemned by the undegenerately reflective amongst us, and militating against LIBERTY, not only in a distant quarter of the globe, BUT HERE; shall also feel it and fall before it and **perish by it**, if they hearken not to warning; if you still possess the noble spirit animating your gallant, all-sacrificing sires; who offered up health, wealth and life on the hallowed foundation-stone of this glorious republic, that they might transmit to you the precious heritage of FREEDOM!

"IF THIS BE TREASON, MAKE THE MOST OF IT."

ye real enemies of our country!

People of the United States the question is left with you; the ayes and noes on it! Shall we permit the fall of two republics because our inordinate lust for Commerce prompts us to elect a man who will extend to them no recognition? Shall England rule us and the world, by her arms, her wealth and her insidious inter-unions, combined? or shall a final check be given to her intolerable arrogance and pitiless piracy?

Shall the first years of the new century, so near at hand, behold our youth following everywhere the beat of the drum to the conquest of weaker lands? **May Right forbid!** Vote, therefore, for *any one* but Mc. Kinley. Disregard the abominable dictation and threatenings of employers.

Proceed with caution, and moderation, but decision.

NO EMPTY WORDS, NO VACILLATION OR HESITATION.

Act!

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